

FULFILLMENT OF PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS OF WINNIPEG
JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS

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Izhak Rossler
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IZHAK ROSSLER

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ABSTRACT

The present study was intended to investigate the extent to which parental expectations regarding the type of Jewish education their children received in the Jewish Day Schools in Winnipeg were actually fulfilled. A questionnaire was distributed to a sample of parents of children in grades 1, 3, and 6 of the four Jewish Day Schools in Winnipeg. In addition, the history, policy, and curriculum of each school were examined closely, and the principal, coordinator of the Jewish Studies program and two teachers from each school were interviewed regarding actual educational practice. The responses and findings were analyzed and reviewed with respect to three primary areas considered to be the basic elements of Jewish education:

1. Religious orientation--Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or secular;
2. Language of instruction--Hebrew, Yiddish, and/or English;
3. Attitude towards Israel--religious Zionist, secular Zionist non-Zionist, or anti-Zionist.

The results for each of the Jewish Day Schools were analyzed separately. It was found that there were some differences between parents' expectations and what the schools provided.

At the Talmud Torah, parents' expectations were satisfied by the religious instruction implemented by the school staff, however, this differed in orientation from the school's stated policy and curriculum.

At the Peretz School it was found that the parents' expectations were similar to the school curriculum with respect to religious content,

although this differed from both the school's declared religious policy and actual practice.

At the Ramah School it was found that the parents' expectations differed from what the school provided with respect to religious orientation, language instruction, and attitude towards Israel.

At the Herzlia Academy it was found that parents' expectations were met on all counts, with the exception of the emphasis on religion, which was found to be stricter than what the parents preferred.

It was found that within each school there were differences among official policy, curriculum, and practice, particularly with regard to religious orientation and instruction. It was recommended that the schools review their policies, reorganize their curricula, and set standards of practice in light of parental expectations.

Parents were advised to examine a school's policy and practice when selecting a school for their children.

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Chapter 1

THE PROBLEM, SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY, RESEARCH STRATEGY AND TERMS USED

Introduction

Jewish education on this continent is as old as Jewish settlement in America. From 1654, when the first settlers arrived from Brazil, to the present, North American Jews have made ceaseless efforts to teach their children the traditions, religious ideas and practices bequeathed to them by their fathers. As the Jewish population increased, Jewish schools grew rapidly in numbers and variety. Today they form a complex network of educational organizations.

These Jewish schools vary greatly in organization, ideology and teaching methods. Yet, the education which they all provide is a Jewish one, rooted in Jewish traditions and culture, with its purpose being the survival and enhancement of Jewish life.

There have been, throughout the years, inevitable gaps between intentions and achievements in North American Jewish schooling. Many called for improvements in Jewish education both in its organization and accomplishments. Numerous studies were made, particularly since 1940. The surveys conducted led to the organization of the first community Bureau of Jewish Education, in New York.¹ Since then, most of the larger

¹Alexander M. Dushkin, Jewish Education in New York City (New York: Bureau of Jewish Education, 1918), ch. 3-4.

communities in North America have, at one time or another, arranged for local surveys of Jewish education, with the objective of increasing its adequacy and effectiveness.²

Although Jewish Day Schools are generally regarded as communal schools with a traditional program, it is not appropriate to consider them as one group of schools with one form of education. When we speak of Jewish Day Schools, we speak of many types of all-day educational units.

A variety of classifications have been suggested to categorize the Jewish Day School. In a study involving day school parents, Nulman used the following groupings based on the style of the school and its degree of religious affiliation:

1. the European All Day School (Yeshiva)
2. the Modern All Day School
3. the National Secular All Day School
4. the Foundation School³

In a study of New York Yeshivot, Segal classified the Jewish Day School according to the language of instruction used in the Jewish Studies Department:

1. the Yiddish Traditional School
2. the Hebraic Traditional Yeshiva

²Uriah Z. Engelman, "Survey of Surveys," in Jewish Education in the United States, by Alexander M. Dushkin and Uriah Z. Engelman, Report of the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the United States (1959).

³Louis Nulman, The Parents and the Jewish Day School (Scranton, Pennsylvania: Parent Study Press, 1956).

3. the Modified Hebraic Yeshiva
4. the Non-Yeshiva School⁴

A study by Schiff divides Jewish Day Schools on the basis of religious orientation and provides sub-groups for the Orthodox Schools according to the language of instruction in the Jewish Studies department and the sex of the pupils.⁵ Schiff suggested the following categories:

1. Orthodox
 - a. Hebraic boys, Hebraic girls, Hebraic co-ed
 - b. Yiddish boys, Yiddish girls, Yiddish co-ed
 - c. English boys, English girls, English co-ed
2. Hassidic
 - a. boys
 - b. girls
3. Conservative
4. Bi-cultural
5. Nationalist-Secular

Essentially, then, Nulman, Segal and Schiff, in their classifications, focus on three basic elements of the Jewish Day School. These are:

1. religious emphasis of the school
2. language of instruction in the Hebrew Department
3. the school's attitude to Israel

⁴Samuel M. Segal, "The Elementary Day School in New York City Through 1948" (Doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1952).

⁵Alvin I. Schiff, "A Critical Study of the Policies and Practices of Elementary Day Schools" (Doctoral dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1957).

With regard to the religious orientation of the school, this is influenced by the philosophy of the Jewish group running it: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or secular. The time allotted for Judaic studies, Bible, and Jewish Law, and the textbooks and commentaries used, differ from school to school.

The choice of English, Hebrew, or Yiddish as the language of instruction depends on the school's philosophy of Jewish tradition. The choice of Hebrew denotes an emphasis on the Land of Israel and Biblical studies. The selection of Yiddish could be the result of one or a combination of three variables: the school opposes the State of Israel, the school reveres Jewish experience in Europe, or the school considers Hebrew too holy for everyday use, appropriate only for Bible studies. This last is considered an ultra-Orthodox view. The use of English as the language of instruction in the Hebrew Studies department stems, fundamentally, from convenience, and in rare instances from a wish to assimilate with the community in which the school is located.⁶

Attitudes to Israel include religious Zionism, which sees Israel as the "promised land" and supports a Jewish state based on the traditions and laws of the Jewish religion;⁷ secular Zionism, which is committed to a Jewish state in Israel based on national, ethnic and historical affiliations and which espouses a social democracy based on Jewish moral concepts with religious freedom;⁸ and anti-Zionism,

⁶Joshua Fishman, Yiddish in America, Social Linguistic Description and Analysis (Indianapolis: Indiana University, 1965), pp. 51-85.

⁷Y. Halperin, The Jewish Revolution (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1961), pp. 216-235.

⁸Ibid., pp. 211-216.

opposition to the State of Israel. The last develops either out of an extreme Orthodox philosophy which states that miracles should be the sole basis for the establishment of a Jewish State ruled only by the traditional code of law, or from extreme secularism, which is identified by fervent nationalism expressed by Jews toward the countries in which they live. The Bund, an anti-Zionist group espouses this philosophy.⁹

Similarly, the emphasis on religious studies is also controlled by these variables, as is the choice of teachers. A Zionist school may import Israeli teachers for its Hebrew Department. Each of these approaches affects the school's curriculum.

The Problem

The purpose of this study was to compare the expectations of parents in the Winnipeg Jewish school system to what the school system does, in fact, provide.

The study examined parents' expectations in the following categories:

1. Parents' religious expectations, i.e., what kind of religious emphasis the parents expected the Jewish school to teach their children (Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, secular).

2. Parents' language expectations, i.e., what kind of language instruction the parents expected the Jewish school to provide (Hebrew, Yiddish, or English) and the percentage of usage of these languages.

3. Parents' expectations in terms of the school's orientation to Israel, i.e., what kind of attitude the school will inculcate in

⁹Ibid., pp. 206-207.

the children (religious Zionist, secular Zionist, non-Zionist, anti-Zionist).

The study also examined what the Winnipeg Jewish elementary schools provided in these categories.

Finally, the study then compared the parents' expectations to what the Jewish elementary schools, in fact, provided.

Significance of the Problem

There are many studies of parents' and students' attitudes toward the Jewish school, but there are very few studies of parents' expectations of the Jewish Day School.¹⁰ In a review of such research, Lasker discovered only seven studies which attempted to assess the goals which parents have for the Jewish education of their children.¹¹ Lasker concluded that the design of these studies was not sufficiently strict to provide useful data. One of them went no further than to list some sample responses without attempting to draw any conclusions. Four of the seven studies asked a general question, such as, "Why do you send your child to a Jewish school?" These studies produced very little information. Parents gave an average of 1½ to 2 "codeable responses" to this question. All of these studies were conducted in the United States. There have

¹⁰Two examples of such studies are Louis Nulman, The Parents and the Jewish Day School (Scranton, Pennsylvania: Parent Study Press, 1956), and Alvin I. Schiff, "A Critical Study of the Policies and Practices of Elementary Day Schools" (Doctoral dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1957).

¹¹Arnold A. Lasker, "What Parents Want from the Jewish Education of their Children," Journal of Jewish Communal Service, LII (Summer, 1976).

apparently been no studies conducted in Canada which pertain to this topic. In Study on Jewish Education,¹² a study is discussed in which parents were asked why they sent their children to one Jewish school and not to another, but the source of that information was not reported.

The present study is unique to Canada. It is an in-depth case study of four Jewish schools (elementary and kindergarten), with a focus on the teaching of religion, language, and relationship to the State of Israel (as discussed earlier, pp. 3-4).

The correct interpretation by administration policy-makers and teachers of how the school helps the children learn what the school and the parents want them to learn may encourage further involvement and improve parental attitudes concerning the school's operation. As Lasker concluded:

. . . mutual consultation concerning shared goals can lead to cross-fertilization of ideas and improved functioning of the school Ignorance of the differences will only produce frustrations and tensions as teachers try to achieve results which parents regard as inconsequential or neglect to do what parents consider to be indispensable.¹³

The results of this study were analyzed to discover to what extent the Jewish schools in Winnipeg were meeting parents' expectations.

Research Strategy

This research project was an exploratory study of the relationship between parents' expectations of Winnipeg Jewish Day Schools and

¹²Study Committee on Jewish Education, Study on Jewish Education, Section III (Toronto: United Welfare Fund of Toronto in cooperation with the Board of Jewish Education, 1975), pp. 27-28.

¹³Lasker, loc. cit.

what the schools, in fact, provide. By profiling four different types of Jewish Day Schools, a study of this relationship was made.

All four Jewish Day Schools in Greater Winnipeg were included in this study: Talmud Torah, Peretz, Ramah, and Herzlia Academy.

Parents of children in grades 1, 3, and 6 were asked about their expectations regarding the school their children attended. At the Herzlia Academy, since there was only a kindergarten program, the parents involved with that program were included.

A structured questionnaire (see Appendix A) compared the parents' bias as to the weight of the Judaic studies (that is the teaching hours devoted to subjects involving religion, language and Israel). It also dealt with the parents' expectations regarding the emphasis given to the subjects of religion, language and Israel, when taught in the school.

Three types of information helped pinpoint what the schools provided:

1. written policies of the schools, when available;
2. an interview with each school's principal and the coordinator for Jewish studies (where such a position existed), and an interview with two teachers from the Hebrew Department (both with more than three years' experience at the school);
3. an analysis of the curriculum (where available) and the timetable, to determine the proportion and weight given each of the subjects being taught in each of the schools.

The interviews, which were tape-recorded, focused on the emphasis placed on religion, language, and attitude toward the State of Israel (see Appendix B).

Results and information derived from the interviews, and the

questionnaire were analyzed separately. They were collected and tabulated to show the relationship between the parents' expectations of the school and that of the schools' educators, i.e., principals, coordinators, teachers, and the written school policy and curriculum.

Conclusions were drawn from the findings to determine whether or not the school met the majority of the parents' expectations and if there was a significant difference between the parents' expectations and what the school provided.

Delimitations

By means of a questionnaire and interviews, this study explored the relationship between the parents' expectations of the Jewish School and what the school actually provided in the areas of religion, language, and Zionism. Only the metropolitan area of Winnipeg was used for this study. In the Jewish elementary schools, only parents having children in grades 1, 3, and 6 were included in the study. All of the principals and Hebrew Studies co-ordinators were interviewed, along with two Hebrew teachers from each school--one teacher from a lower grade, and one teacher from a higher grade.

Limitations

Those factors that generally limit a study where the primary source of information is based upon a self-report questionnaire apply to this study, as well. Since it is not possible to determine with absolute precision the degree of individual or group expectation, the final results reflected this limitation. The study was also limited by time and financial considerations.

The questionnaire was distributed to students in the classroom

and was returned in the same way. It should be noted that there were only five responses (27%) to the questionnaire from Herzlia Academy, thus findings regarding that school were considered inconclusive.

In reality, expectations tend to change from year to year. This study permitted the sampling of only one time period. It is possible that some parents do not have any specific expectations with respect to the emphasis the school places on language, religion, and/or Zionism, and that they send their children to the Jewish school because it is convenient, because of the social consideration, or because of the school's reputation.¹⁴

Definition of Terms

- Afternoon School:** Schools which meet three or more times a week for Jewish instruction after the regular hours of public school classes.
- Day School:** Schools which provide half a day of the required Department of Education curriculum, as well as half a day of Jewish-oriented subjects.
- Mitzvot:** Hebrew term meaning Commandments of precepts derived from the Bible or interpreted by the Rabbis.
- Religious Zionist:** One whose commitment to Israel is based on a belief in the Bible and its precepts. He promotes a Jewish State based on the principles of the Jewish religion, its traditions and its laws.
- Secular Zionist:** One committed to a Jewish State in Israel based on national, ethnic, and historical affiliations. He espouses a social-democracy based on Jewish moral concepts with religious freedom.

¹⁴As Dushkin and Engelman report in Jewish Education in the United States, loc. cit., out of 1561 parents, 43.6 percent gave the above reasons for sending their children to a Jewish School (p. 85).

<u>Bar Mitzvah:</u>	Hebrew term for religious ceremony which defines a 13-year-old boy as having reached the age of responsibility. According to Jewish law, he then becomes responsible for his own actions.
<u>Siddur:</u>	Book of Jewish prayer written in Hebrew and Aramaic. It contains precepts which praise God and ask the Almighty to look after His flock.
<u>Mishna & Talmud</u>	Volumes which contain Jewish civil and religious law.
<u>Torah:</u>	The first five books of the Old Testament.
<u>Navi:</u>	The Books of the Prophets.
<u>Dinim:</u>	The study of <u>Halacha</u> , i.e., Codes of Jewish Law which outline expected behavior for holy days, everyday situations, and special occasions, such as weddings and funerals.
<u>Shaliach:</u>	An Israeli teacher officially sent by the Jewish Agency to the Diaspora, who stays in a "station country" for three or four years.
<u>Diaspora:</u>	Any country outside Israel which is inhabited by Jews.
<u>Kashruth:</u>	Jewish dietary observance.
<u>Shabbat:</u>	Saturday, the Jewish day of rest; the Sabbath.
<u>Pirke Avoth:</u>	Ethics of the Fathers, a book of Jewish ethics and morals for use in everyday life.

Thesis Organization

Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 reviews background information about Jewish Day Schools, along with religious and Zionist ideologies pertinent to this study. Chapter 3 describes the research procedures and provides population statistics. Chapter 4 presents analyses of the data collected in response to the parent questionnaires. Chapter 5

profiles Winnipeg's Jewish schools as reflected by information derived from staff interviews, school curricula and policy statements. Finally, in Chapter 6, the study is summarized, conclusions are drawn, and implications for the Winnipeg Jewish school system are discussed.

Chapter 2

BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW OF THE JEWISH DAY SCHOOL

Historical Background

One of the most important commandments in Jewish life is:

And thou shalt teach [the Jewish laws and Bible] diligently unto thy children and thou shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thine house and when thou walkest by the way, when thou liest down and when thou risest up.¹⁵

Jewish parents have historically accepted the responsibility for their children's education. The power of religious law and of public opinion influenced generations of Jewish parents to provide the required education for their children. During the days of the Second Commonwealth, the Sanhedrin (Jewish government) under the leadership of the third century Jewish sage, Joshua ben Gamala, established schools in every town and hamlet of ancient Judea, so that even those children who were fatherless would be able to study Torah. Since then, there has always been a community concern for Jewish education. The Biblical injunction of caring for the impoverished was particularly applied to the area of education. This ancient injunction traversed the ages and continents. "Uptown" New York German Jews established Hebrew Free Schools for the children of "Downtown" East European Jewish immigrants. Eastern European Jews, in turn, founded the first Afternoon Schools.

¹⁵Deuteronomy 6:7

The short-lived Kehilla of New York made an historic educational contribution when it established the first community Bureau of Jewish Education, in 1910. Thus, the idea of community responsibility for Jewish education among American Jews was established.¹⁶

During the post-World War II years, the American Jewish community demonstrated a tendency toward more Jewish identification. Four major factors had a direct bearing on the revival of interest in Jewish life: (1) the Nazi Holocaust, (2) the establishment of the State of Israel, (3) the spirit of religious revival in the United States, and (4) the displacement of the melting pot theory with the concept of cultural pluralism and the greater acceptance of religious and ethnic differences.¹⁷

The renewed interest in Jewish life has been accompanied by a growing Jewish communal concern for Jewish education. From 1940 to 1964, there was a rapid growth of Jewish Day Schools. Table 1 (p. 15) presents the geographic expansion of the Jewish Day School in terms of the annual increase in the number of states and communities which had day schools by 1964.

The Israeli victory in the Six Day War of 1967 stimulated the growth of Zionist Day Schools. Since 1973, there appears to have been no further growth of Jewish Day Schools, but there also does not appear to be a decline in the number of day schools or of their enrollment.

The Jewish Day School is essentially a private educational

¹⁶A. P. Gannes, Central Community Agencies (Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1954).

¹⁷Alvin I. Schiff, "A Critical Study of the Policies and Practices of Elementary Day Schools" (Doctoral dissertation, Yeshiva University, 1957).

Table 1
Day School Growth in the United States
and Canada from 1940 to 1964¹⁸

Year	Number of Schools and Departments	Enrollment ^a	Number of States and Provinces ^b	Number of Communities ^c
1940-41	35	7,700	7	7
1941-42	*	*	*	*
1942-43	*	*	*	*
1943-44	*	*	*	*
1944-45	70	9,000	16	21
1945-46	78	11,000	17	31
1946-47	101	14,400	17	33
1947-48	115	15,500	21	39
1948-49	127	18,400	22	44
1949-50	132	*	23	48
1950-51	139	23,100	23	52
1951-52	*	*	26	56
1952-53	160	28,000	28	60
1953-54	179	30,000	28	63
1954-55	*	*	*	*
1955-56	203	38,000	28	68
1956-57	216	41,500	29	78
1957-58	224	45,500	30	81
1958-59	232	48,700	30	83
1959-60	254	52,500	30	87
1960-61	265	55,800	31	95
1961-62	290	59,500	32	108
1962-63	296	62,000	33	115
1963-64	306	65,400	34	117

^aFigures to the nearest 100.

^bIncludes District of Columbia.

^cNew York reported as one community

*No statistics available.

18
Louis Katzoff, Issues in Jewish Education: A Study of the
Conservative Congregational School (New York: Block Publishing Co.,
1949), p. 92.

institution in the pluralistic American setting. State and province education laws recognize the legitimacy of such schooling and make provisions for its supervision. Federal and state governments authorize tax exemptions for non-public, non-profit educational purposes.

Jewish all-day education implies specialization. The day school helps meet basic educational needs in much the same way that the exclusive private school, the language school, the music and art school, and the vocational school play specific roles in the American community.

The Jewish Day School is a private religious institution of learning. Jewish Day Schools are not parochial schools. There is no central authority in American Jewish life and no force binding Jewish Day School education. The Jewish Day Schools are community schools which are distinct educational units founded and supported by autonomous, self-governed lay boards.

Because they do not oppose the aims of general education in the United States and Canada, the Jewish school does not alter or modify the basic general studies curriculum in use in the dominant system of education. The same syllabi, textbooks, and educational tools used in the public schools are employed in the general studies departments of the Day Schools.

Reference to Jewish Day Schools may include any one of many kinds of all-day educational units. For example, Jewish Day Schools can be categorized by ideological orientation: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Yiddishists, Zionists, etc. Each orientation brings with it its own support group comprised of affiliated schools and organizations across the country, stressing its particular cultural, religious, and ideological priorities.

There are three elements by which Winnipeg Jewish Day Schools were classified in the present study, and on which parents based their expectations of the schools. They are (1) religious philosophies; (2) attitudes toward the State of Israel; and (3) language of religious instruction.

RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHIES AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Since each of the three religious philosophies of Judaism (Orthodox, Conservative and Reform) has its own implications within the Jewish educational system, a review of these is presented here.

Orthodox Judaism

The central belief of Orthodox Judaism is the divine origin of the Torah. Simply stated, God gave His Torah, both written and oral, to Moses at Mount Sinai. The written Torah contains the Five Books of Moses, while the oral Torah is the body of laws, rules and regulations known as the Mishna, which was transcribed when its teacher-to-student transmission became endangered due to precarious political conditions.

The written law, the oral law, and the regulations and rules arrived at by the rabbis through methods of analysis sanctioned by the Torah itself, together form the Halacha. Halacha forms the framework of traditional Jewish life; it contains rules for religious and ethical behavior in both private and public life.

Orthodox Jews believe that Torah law cannot be changed, but that conditions must be adjusted to the eternal values of the Torah. Orthodoxy maintains that one cannot be an authentic Jew by merely

believing in some fundamental principles of faith, but that one must also observe the Torah's commandments and the rules of behavior outlined by Halacha.

To an Orthodox Jew, the tenets of faith cannot be divorced from ritual law because faith and law form an inseparable unity. Orthodox Judaism requires its adherents to uphold the supremacy and the sovereignty of the Torah in any civilization.

The general aims and objectives of the Orthodox schools were adopted by the Commission on Jewish Education of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations. Its aims include the following:

1. to teach God-consciousness in the Jewish sense of the word;
2. to teach the application of Torah ideals as they apply to the tasks of daily life, to make the interrelationships clear between practice and ideals; the purpose of the teaching of the Torah is divine guidance to worthwhileness, peace and happiness;
3. to teach the Mitzvot (commandments), the ideas underlying them, and the proper way to perform them, through a joyous participation in life rather than as a group of rules, through forms of Jewish life in school, and in preparation for participation in the home and synagogue;
4. to teach oral and written Torah, in accordance with the capacity of the child, through the original Torah text, Bible, Talmud, Commentaries, Midrash, Siddur, and Jewish history; these must be taught to make the child conscious of the immortality of his people and of Judaism...;
5. to teach that Judaism must be the heirloom of each individual in the community... that it must depend on a well informed laity, rather than on dogmatic authority of "rabbis" and that, therefore, the life-long study of Torah is obligatory.¹⁹

¹⁹Commission on Jewish Education of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, A Model Program for the Talmud Torah (New York: Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, 1942) pp. 13-21.

The primary organizational units of the North American Orthodox community are the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, the Rabbinical Council of America--the organization of affiliated rabbis--and Torah U'Mesora, the organization of affiliated educational institutions.

Reform Judaism

The underlying principle on which Reform Judaism was founded is that the Bible is the most magnificent document created by man. The Bible is not considered as divinely revealed by God to Moses, and then to the Children of Israel. Rather, it constitutes the efforts of an ancient people to set down their ideas, their questions and beliefs about life and death, about the Universe, and, ultimately, about God. All of the beauty and wisdom inherent in the Bible is, according to the Reform, the creation of man.

Reform Jews also view the Bible as the product of a particular era. Not everything in it is considered to be of equal importance. Specifically, the ethical and moral teachings must be separated from the ritual and ceremonial traditions. The ethical teachings are timeless, unchanging, and eternally valid, while the ritualistic practices which they prescribe are the product of a definite period in history, of a definite locale, related to specific economic and political conditions. The rituals and ceremonies, therefore, are subject to change.

Reform Jews act as their own authority on all religious matters. Every congregation within the Reform Movement is autonomous, as is each individual congregant. Within the structure of the Reform Jewish community in America, there are three major organizations: the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, the Union of American

Hebrew Congregations, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

The goals of the Reform Afternoon Schools, as adopted by the Curriculum Committee of the Commission of Jewish Education are:

1. to inspire our children with positive and abiding faith in the Jewish religion;
2. to stimulate their sense of community with, and responsibility toward fellow Jews in all parts of the world, with deep concern for the State of Israel and its people;
3. to guide them in self-identification with the Jewish people of the past, emulating the heroes, aspiring to the ideals, and devoted to the continuance of Judaism;
4. to provide the members with happy, interesting and inspiring experiences in the practice of Judaism in the home, the school, the synagogue, and the community and in the appreciation of Jewish art, music, and literature;
5. to prepare them to utilize the religious faith, ethical standards, and traditional insights of Judaism in meeting their personal problems;
6. to inculcate in them the universal ideals of Israel's prophets and sages leading toward their dynamic involvement in service for freedom, brotherhood, and peace;
7. to ensure that the curriculum, which attempts to achieve these aims must begin with the actual experience of our children, but must add many important elements of the Jewish heritage which are not present in the experience of the average Jewish child in America; to emphasize the study of Hebrew as an indispensable element in the achievement of this purpose and that it must play an important part in our course of study; and above all, that the purpose must be to stimulate a process of continuous learning which extends beyond the prescribed program of the religious school and lasts as long as life itself.²⁰

Conservative Judaism

The religious picture of American Jewry at the end of the 19th

²⁰Curriculum Committee of the Commission on Jewish Education, General Aims ([n.p.]: Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, April, 1956), p. 1.

century represented a scene of two opposing camps at either end of the religious spectrum. At one end was the Reform group which, in 1885, had adopted the Pittsburgh Platform stating that Jewish ceremonial laws were no longer binding and that the Jewish People had no national aspirations, as implied in the traditional desire to return to Palestine. On the other hand, Orthodox Jews were trying to recreate the life of Eastern Europe, devoting their lives to the same traditional laws as they had in the past. Confronted by these two extremes, the early leaders of what was to become Conservative Judaism were convinced that neither perspective represented a true version of Judaism.

The early leaders of Conservative, or Historical Judaism, as they called their point of view, did not intend to create a new movement in Judaism. They rather hoped to create a centrist position. In 1886, the rabbinic leaders of traditional congregations organized the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, as a school for the training of rabbis and teachers. This institution ordains the rabbis who serve in Conservative congregations, and it includes the Teachers' Institute to prepare men and women for the Hebrew teaching profession, as well as for administrative positions in Jewish education.

The United Synagogues of America, which acts as a unifying body of the member congregations, serves and guides them in congregational life. Its major emphasis has been in the area of education. Its Commission on Jewish Education has developed standards and curricula for the congregational schools and has published many textbooks and other educational materials.

The Rabbinical Assembly of America is the organization of Conservative rabbis.

The Conservative Movement differs from the Orthodox and Reform in that it stresses certain parts of the tradition which are considered to be central to Judaism. Of these aspects, three receive special emphasis: the concept of Catholic Israel, the viewpoint of Positive-Historical Judaism, and the idea of Unity in Diversity. The notion of Catholic Israel relates to the Conservative Movement's placing strong emphasis on the study of the Hebrew language in its schools, as well as in its use in the liturgy. Positive-Historical Judaism refers to the view that although there is always a bias in favor of tradition, because of the values it possesses and because of the hallowed usage by the Jewish People, Judaism has never remained static as a religion. It has changed, adjusting to the needs of new generations and new developments in Jewish history. This attitude of Conservative Judaism is reflected in the title and content of a book dealing with the development of the Conservative Movement, edited by Rabbi Mordecai Waxman, Tradition and Change.²¹ Conservative Judaism believes that the law must be examined in terms of modern needs, and if changes are required, that they be made through the Halacha, the legal system created by Jewish tradition.

The third major aspect of ideology involved in Conservative Judaism is the idea of retaining unity within the movement, while still permitting a certain amount of diversity for individual congregational expression. There is recognition of the fact that at times certain synagogue practices developed not through the interpretation of the law

²¹Mordecai Waxman, Tradition and Change (New York: Burning Bush Press, 1964).

alone, but from the attempts on the part of the congregations, together with their spiritual leader, to give some varied expression to the ritual in the context of the times.

The objectives of schools affiliated with the Conservative Movement are summarized as follows:

1. to imbue the child with love of God and trust in His goodness;
2. to provide opportunities for the child to develop spiritual and ethical sensitivity;
3. to develop a desire for and convey the skills to practice the Mitzvot (commandments) and the traditions of Jewish life in the synagogue and in the home;
4. to enable the child to acquire increasing knowledge of the Hebrew language;
5. to broaden and deepen the child's intellectual and spiritual life through knowledge of Jewish history, literature and culture;
6. to explore the teaching of Judaism and the ideals of American democracy for the reciprocal influences they should have on each other;
7. to motivate the child to accept the study of Torah as a lifelong pursuit.²²

A survey of the curricula of the Conservative Day Schools, conducted in 1963, revealed that they were, indeed, pursuing a full curriculum which included the study of Torah, with commentary, Mishna and Talmud, prayers, and Jewish laws and customs.²³

²²Simon Greenberg, Objectives and Standards for Congregational Schools (New York: United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education, 1968), pp. 7-8.

²³Walter Ackerman, A Report on a Modest Survey of Conservative Day Schools (New York: United Synagogue Commission on Jewish Education, April, 1963).

It is apparent from the educational premises of the three trends, Orthodox, Reform, and Conservative; that there are substantial differences in the subjects taught, thus affecting the choice of curriculum and textbooks used, and in the emphasis (i.e., number of teaching hours) placed on each subject. A summary of these differences is presented in Table 2.²⁴

Table 2
Differences Among Conservative, Orthodox and Reform Curricula

Subject Matter	Conservative (1958)*	Orthodox (1942)*	Reform (1958)*
<u>Torah & Hebrew</u>	graded Hebrew texts collateral Hebrew readings <u>Siddur</u> -selections <u>Bible</u> selections from rabbinic sources Ethical & moral <u>Torah</u> teachings	Hebrew language Hebrew literature Prayers & blessings- recital & meaning <u>Torah</u> -with Rashi com- mentary Prophets <u>Mishna</u> <u>elementary Talmud</u> <u>Pirke Avoth (Ethics</u> of the Fathers)	Hebrew (minimal liturgical, Biblical, modern, & Hebrew-Yiddish expressions in use Prayers-selected <u>Bible</u> (in English) post-Biblical literature (in English) theology
Jewish Life	prayers & worship the synagogue holidays, festivals participation in Jewish community activities	practice--not subject to curriculum hymns & songs laws & customs	worship--the prayer book Jewish art, music, & dance
Jewish Peoplehood	story of the Jewish People Israel American Jewish history	Jewish history current events--Israel history of American Jewry	Jewish history Israel--history & life history & structure of American Jewry

*date of latest published official curriculum.

²⁴Based on Jewish Education in the United States, by Alexander M. Dushkin and Uriah Z. Engelman, Report of the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the United States (1959).

In Winnipeg, the Jewish community supports what are called "regular" Orthodox synagogues (as opposed to "extremely" Orthodox, or "Hassidic" Orthodox), in addition to Conservative and Reform synagogues. The community also includes secular Jews who are unaffiliated with any synagogue. The Jewish Day Schools reflect the varying philosophies of the community. It is assumed that the parents expect the school to which they send their children to teach in accordance with the religious philosophy they (the parents) follow.

ATTITUDES TOWARD ISRAEL AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

The Origin and Mandate of World Zionism

Zionism, the modern social and political movement, is of recent vintage and is largely linked to the career of the Viennese journalist, Theodore Herzl. Herzl's celebrated book, The Jewish State,²⁵ published in 1896, transformed the Jewish world. Herzl's thesis was based on several hypotheses:

1. that the Jewish People constitute a nation in the psychological and cultural sense, but are a nation without a political identity;
2. that anti-semitism and the resultant suffering of the Jews will exist as long as the Jewish People are stateless;
3. Judiasm as a civilization, or culture, is in danger of extinction unless the Jews are able to physically defend themselves and are allowed to freely express their unique spiritual nature;

²⁵Theodore Herzl, The Jewish State, reference based on Massada edition (Tel Aviv, 1951).

4. a national state is the only vehicle with which to guarantee such self-expression and self-defense;

5. Jewish survival and the continued Jewish contribution to world culture will be ensured only if the Jewish People obtain an independent national state.

Modern Zionists added to Herzl's theses the provision that Palestine, because of its unique reference in the Book of Genesis and the historical development of the Jews, would fit the requirements of a future Jewish state.²⁶ These idealists became known as "territorialists" and "political Zionists."

Under Herzl's dynamic leadership, the ethereal vision of a "Return to Zion" became transformed into a practical solution to the "Jewish question"--a Jewish state in Palestine. At the first World Zionist Congress, in Switzerland, in August, 1897, the "Basic Platform" was enacted. This keystone of the World Zionist Movement stated that:

Zionism seeks to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:

1. the promotion by appropriate means of settlement in Palestine of Jewish agriculturalists, artisans and manufacturers;
2. the organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions both local and international in accordance with the laws of each country;
3. the strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness;
4. preparatory steps toward obtaining the consent of government where necessary, in order to reach the goals of Zionism.²⁷

²⁶For discussion of the social milieu in which Zionism arose see Salow Baron, "The Modern Age," Great Ages and Ideas of the Jewish People, ed. Leo W. Schwarz (New York: Random House, 1956).

²⁷World Zionist Organization, "The Zionist Position" (statement submitted to the American Jewish Conference, August 29, 1943).

It should be noted that the four operative statements which followed the opening declaration of purpose are all subsidiary to the primary objective, which is that of a legally secured home in Palestine. Relative to the interpretation of these operative statements, a complex division of opinion among Zionists arose. Exactly how the Jewish homeland should be realized, what the proper interpretation of "Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness" should be, and how the aspects of religion, capitalism, and socialism should be integrated, were all concerns emanating from this central idea. These questions caused violent agitation within the entire Zionist movement and resulted in the formation of numerous and distinctive Zionist "parties." Inevitably, these diverse interpretations produced a host of conflicting and overlapping ideologies, representing various claims and counterclaims.

In the current study, "Zionism" refers primarily to the goal expressed in the opening declaration of the First Zionist Congress, presented above. A Zionist denotes an individual who subscribes or consciously contributes to the attainment of that goal. An arbitrary limitation of meaning was based upon the authoritative statement of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, the co-ordinating agency for all American Zionist parties, which declared in 1943 that "Nothing more was ever expected of the Zionist than the promotion of this objective--a homeland for all Jewish people!"²⁸ All special interpretations of Zionism, and all accompanying philosophies and private additions to official policy were not included.

On November 2, 1917, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain,

²⁸Ibid., p. 11.

Arthur James Balfour, issued the policy statement which was the object of 20 years of forceful Zionist strivings. This famous, and later controversial, "Balfour Declaration" announced:

Dear Lord Rothchild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to, and approved by the Cabinet.

His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this objective, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the right and political status enjoyed by Jews in another country.

I will be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.²⁹

On the basis of this statement of official British policy, Great Britain was awarded the Mandate for Palestine at the meeting of the Principal Allied Powers in April, 1920. On July 24, 1922, the Council of the League of Nations approved the Mandate and charged Great Britain with "responsibility for placing the country under such. . . conditions as will secure the establishment of a Jewish national home."³⁰ By 1922, a total of 52 governments had endorsed the basic political aims of the Zionist movement, and the Jewish national home seemed, if not yet realistically

²⁹ Reprinted in Israel Cohen, A Short History of Zionism (London: Frederick Muller, 1951).

³⁰ Ibid.

attainable, at least assured of widespread international support.

It was, however, more than 25 years before the actual Jewish state was established in 1948. In the interim, Jews had to be resettled in Palestine, and funds provided for their absorption into the economic life, popular support had to be enlisted in Jewish communities around the world, and objectives to the eventual state had to be overcome. The implementation of these essential tasks is credited to American Jewry.

Since the establishment of the State of Israel there have been numerous changes in the Zionist movement, in its membership, and in the political parties formed as offshoots.

Orthodox Zionists

Most of the Western European Orthodox rabbis of Herzl's day considered his political approach to the "Jewish problem" a blasphemous act of rebellion against the will of God. Secular attempts to normalize the position of the Jews by providing a sovereign state were regarded as defections from the notion of "Jewish fate" and as cynical machinations likely to lead to complete assimilation, since such attempts emanated from secularists and other "destroyers" of the traditional faith.³¹

But, in Eastern Europe, where Jewish suffering was greater at that time, and where the de-Judaizing influences of the Emancipation Era had not yet penetrated, lay and rabbinical traditionalists generally responded to the call of Zion. Mizrahi, a religious Zionist movement, founded in Vilna, Lithuania, in 1902, was firmly entrenched in the United States

³¹Based on Samuel Halperin, The Political World of American Zionism (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1961), pp. 65-111.

by 1913, when Rabbi Meyer Berlin arrived in New York to guide its program. Aided by other supportive rabbis, Zionist sentiment mushroomed among the increasing settlement of Eastern European immigrants.³² These newcomers, steeped in Jewish tradition and loyalties, if not entirely "observant" in their daily lives, carried with them fresh memories of persecution. They enthusiastically embraced the practical chores of the Zionist program. However, as late as 1922, the work of American Zionists among this population was recognized as incomplete:

Zionism makes its appeal to the Jewish masses--that large element which lives closely associated in industrial, social, intellectual, and religious Jewish life; still animated, more or less by sturdy Jewish ideals; speaking, more or less Yiddish language; become American without dutting themselves off from the springs of Jewish life; . . .not too wealthy and therefore snobbish; . . .poor, but becoming more well-to-do. . . it is the mass which has its own habits and customs and expresses them in its own institutions. . . which we aim to convert into supporters of Zionism.³³

It was also clear that the synagogue was the most likely institution in which potential converts to the Zionist cause could be found.³⁴ Virtually every Orthodox synagogue became a den of Zionist activity--local appeals for funds, mail and telegram campaigns, bases for Hebrew-Zionist education, and meeting halls of the Zionist Organization of America.³⁵

³²Hyman B. Brinsein, "Orthodox Judaism and Early Zionism in America," Early History of Zionism in America, ed. Isidore S. Meyer (New York: Schocken Books, 1958), pp. 219-227.

³³Louis Lipsky, "The Field of Action," Early Years of American Zionism, ed. Louis Lipsky (New York: Neshar Publishing Co., 1927).

³⁴Brinsein, op. cit., p. 192.

³⁵Abraham G. Duker, "The Impact of Zionism on American Jewry,"

Despite the fact that the leaders of American Zionism and the majority of their followers were not particularly Orthodox in their observances, Orthodoxy found itself able to join a growing Zionist alliance with other Jews. In his brief American visits, Rabbi Abraham Isaac Cook, the revered Chief Rabbi of Palestine, added spiritual weight to the traditionalists' practical program for the redemption of the Holy Land. Rabbi Cook viewed Zionism as a noble impulse, akin to a religious directive from God for the sake of Messianic perfection. He regarded Jewish nationalism as a supremely holy movement, even if its exponents proclaimed its total independence of religion. He felt that everyone who assisted in building the Jewish homeland was working for the revival of the Divine Presence, for the national genius of Israel in a climate suitable for the cultivation of true religion, the physical health of Israel being a prerequisite for its spiritual growth.³⁶ The force of Cook's personality and writings provided the inspiration and rationalization for Orthodox cooperation with Zionist secularists, and his teachings became the cornerstone upon which the majority of American Orthodoxy based its ardent support of the Zionist movement.

The main theme of the Orthodox Zionists was expressed in the following words of the Palestine Program of the Religious National Orthodox Bloc of the American Jewish Congress, in 1943:

Jewish Life in America, eds. Theodor Freedman and Robert Gordis (New York: New York Zionist Organization of America, 1955), p. 314.

³⁶Jacob B. Agus, "Orthodox Zionism, The Late Rabbi Cook's Profound Synthesis which Blended Traditional Judaism with Nationalism and National Rebirth," New Palestine, June 15, 1945, pp. 225-27.

The demand that Eretz Israel (the Land of Israel) be returned to the Jewish people not only proclaims the historical yearning of our people to return to nationhood, but also is the very foundation of the Jewish religion. God has assured us through the prophets, in the clearest terms that Eretz Israel will again belong to the Jews. The daily prayers of the Jew are replete with supplications and hopes for a return to Eretz Israel. The Jews have waited 1874 years for God's promise to suffering Israel to be fulfilled, and now, when the opportunity is here for the establishment of freedom and justice on earth. . .³⁷

A comparison can be drawn, then, between the educational goals expressed by the Orthodox Zionist and the secular Zionist--with the additional objective required by the former being that the Bible and prayer be basic to the curriculum. In the educational system, the Orthodox place a greater emphasis on religious principles for supporting their close relationship to the State of Israel and to Zionism. Sources such as the Bible, the Talmud, the Siddur, and the traditional philosophers (eg., Rabbi Yehuda Halevi, Maimonides) and writers on Israel (eg., Samuel Hanagid, S. Y. Agnon) are given importance.

Orthodox Non-Zionists

Despite the growth of religious Zionist sentiment in Eastern Europe after 1879, a number of Jews rejected all efforts of mortal man to "force the hand of God" in so vital a matter as the redemption of the Holy Land. In 1912, the vehemently anti-Zionist organization, Agudat Israel, League of Israel, was formed, dedicated to the promotion of Jewish interests solely on a religious basis. The founders of Agudat Israel did not oppose Zionism because it was too nationalistic--in their view, the Jews had been divinely ordained forever as a kingdom of priests

³⁷Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem, Catalogue No. 25/758.

and a holy nation. They rather rejected those elements of nationhood which were stressed by Zionist secularists--territory, language, culture, and sovereignty. Palestine was regarded by them as a place for Jews to realize the joys of a full religious life, but not as a political solution to the "Jewish problem." The Agudat Israel's second American National Convention, in 1940, called on the Mizrahi Religious Zionists to abandon Zionism and return to the true faith of the past.³⁸

By 1941, with the outbreak of World War II and its intensification, the Jewish plight in Eastern Europe became apparent. This induced the Agudat Israel to adopt a more guarded program on Palestine. Members were told that they could join other Jews in redeeming the Holy Land so that pious Jews could fulfill the commandment of settling in Palestine. However, life in Eretz Israel was considered to be a joy in its own right, even if no Jewish State was ever established.

With the Allied victory in sight by 1944 and the fate of Palestine likely to be decided soon after conclusion of hostilities, Agudat Israel took measures assuring it a place in all negotiations regarding Palestine. It demanded that its representatives be included whenever the fate of Palestine was under discussion. While not yet prepared to endorse Zionist demands for a Jewish commonwealth or state, the organization served notice that it would insist upon massive Jewish immigration to the Holy Land and upon the maintenance of Jewish rights already secured by the Palestine Mandate.³⁹

³⁸Contemporary Jewish Record, III, No.5 (September-October, 1940), 532.

³⁹International Jewish Press Service, June 26, 1944, pp 2-3.

This approach to the Zionist movement led Agudat Israel to distinguish between the 'State of Israel'--a political label--and the "Land of Israel"--a religious designation. Their educational system places great caution on the choices of literature for the curriculum. It stresses material which deals with the holiness of Israel and seeks to avoid secular Zionist material.

Zionism and Reform Judaism

The founders of Reform Judaism had expressed their unequivocal opposition to any program or doctrine envisioning Jewish "national rights" in Palestine. In 1841, at the founding of America's first Reform Temple, Gustav Rozanski uttered the momentous slogan which was to become the rallying point of powerful forces opposed to Zionism: "This country is our Palestine, this city our Jerusalem, this house of God, our Temple."⁴⁰

Reform Judaism regarded much of its Palestine heritage as irrelevant and troublesome excess baggage. Reform Jews saw no point in bemoaning the loss of the ancestral homeland. Zionism seemed to them to repudiate the widening political emancipation of the Jews and to threaten friendly relations with non-Jews. They felt that Zionists were endangering the painfully won position of the Jews by presenting tangible evidence of dual loyalty to waiting anti-Semites who maintained that the Jews were eternal strangers in every land. Thus, to Reform Jews, Zionism was not only mistakenly reactionary, it was a menace to Jewish security.⁴¹

⁴⁰Congregation Beth Israel, "A Handbook of True Facts Concerning the 'Basic Principles' of Congregation Beth Israel (Houston, Texas: Congregation Beth Israel, 1944), p. 9.

⁴¹Abram Sachar, American Judaism (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Co., 1957), p. 9.

There were dissenters to this position, among them the famed civil-abolitionist, Bernhard Felsenthal, who rejected the anti-Zionist Reform credo, stating: "Individual Jews have no special message to deliver to mankind. From Palestine, from a Jewish Muster State (model state) our so-called mission can be best fulfilled."⁴² However, the handful of dissenters only served to intensify the anti-Zionist ire of the Reform majority. Pro-Zionist professors were purged from the Hebrew Union College, the Reform Movement's rabbinical seminary, in 1907, and from their Central Conference of American Rabbis, as part of a continuous barrage of anti-Zionist resolutions.⁴³

By the time that Great Britain granted the Mandate for Palestine, in 1922, the emphasis within Reform Judaism had shifted from vehement hostility to a more neutral, "non-Zionist" position. Reform leaders agreed to cooperate in the spiritual, cultural, economic and social upbuilding of the now internationally sanctioned Jewish homeland in Palestine, although opposing "political machinations" calculated to achieve statehood.

With Hitler's rise to power and the flight of Jews from Germany, the Reform Rabbinical Conference reaffirmed an earlier pledge to aid the Jewish Agency's appeal for funds for resettlement of the emigrants. It was recognized that Palestine offered unusually good opportunities for the rehabilitation of a comparatively large number of Nazi victims. Irrespec-

⁴²Rufus Lears (pseud.), Jews in America (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1954), p. 234.

⁴³Samuel S. Cohon, "The History of the Hebrew Union College," Journal of the American Jewish Historical Society, XI, No. 1 (September, 1950), pp. 40-41.

tive of their views on Zionism, therefore, all Reform rabbis exhorted the Conference to support the fund drives in their communities.⁴⁴ The Central Conference of American Rabbis later expressed its "profound joy . . . at the economic, social and spiritual progress of the new Palestine," and rejoiced at the ability of the tiny land to provide a haven for so many fleeing Jews.⁴⁵

Fifty years after the enactment of a militantly anti-Zionist declaration, American Reform rabbinical opinion had evolved to the point where a collectively negative stand on Zionism was abandoned in favor of an individual approach, signifying a wide difference of opinion. A block of Reform rabbis devoted to the Zionist program had succeeded in discrediting classical Reform anti-Zionist ideology, in removing outspoken anti-Zionists from prominent positions in the movement, and in elevating their own members to the leadership of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Reform-Zionists had achieved a notable victory.

The Reform Movement's change of attitude was not due solely to the efforts of Zionist partisans who were associated with it. The activities of organized Zionist blocs, external historical events, and social conditions combined to force the abandonment of the earlier position.

Primary among these factors was the changing composition of Reform's laity and rabbinate. Originally comprised of German Jews and, therefore, apart from the "socially inferior" Eastern Europeans, Reform

⁴⁴Central Conference of American Rabbis, Yearbook, XL (1942), pp. 108, 132.

⁴⁵Central Conference of American Rabbis, Yearbook, XLIV (1944), p. 131.

temples became increasingly accessible to Russian and Polish Jews who were climbing the socio-economic ladder. After the levelling effect of the Great Depression, and particularly after the vast social changes of the Forties, many East European Jews entered into once exclusive circles of Reform, such as B'nai Brith. Former Orthodox Jews, eager to achieve the higher social status associated with the affluence of Reform Judaism, were drawn to the temples. Widespread assimilation, particularly among the wealthy German Jews, had removed the Old Guard leadership of many temples, providing the newcomers with opportunities to reshape Reform Judaism to their own liking.⁴⁶ This transformation of Reform membership and leadership led to changes in attitude toward Palestine and Zionism.

Finally, the Reform generation, which saw the rise of universal anti-Semitism, even in their freedom-loving land, began to question the validity of its ideology of "universal progress." Reform Jews might still have had reservations about the validity or wisdom of Zionism, but few would risk being labelled an "enemy of Israel" by expressing open hostility toward Zionism.

The educational implications of pre-Zionist Reform Judaism was to ignore all political questions associated with Israel, to avoid teaching Zionist literature and the history and geography of Israel. The Bible was studied with historical emphasis, and current events regarding Israel were carefully selected and discussed in general terms.

⁴⁶N. Miller, "The Jewish Leadership in Lake Port," Studies in Leadership, ed. Alvin Gouldner (New York: New York University Press, 1950), pp. 189-99.

Zionism and Conservative Judaism

The American Zionist movement drew some of its most enthusiastic and dedicated supporters from the ranks of Conservative Judaism, the youngest religious alignment in the American Jewish community. Drawn from the "Central Bloc" of American Jewry, these Jews were products of recent immigration from Eastern Europe and were tied by bonds of tradition, kinship, and social outlook. Their efforts were directed to Jewish national restoration in Palestine. Seeking to achieve a synthesis of Jewish tradition and modern culture, they retained and cherished the age-old hope of rebuilding Zion. Frequently corresponding with family and friends still in Europe, they shared a growing sense of frustration with each report of anti-Semitism. Although engrossed in the economic and social struggle of rooting themselves in American soil, they never abdicated the self-imposed responsibility of aiding fellow Jews to reach Palestine.

Despite threats of the Seminary's Reform-dominated Board of Directors, Rabbi Solomon Schechter warmly espoused the doctrine of a Jewish national restoration in Palestine and served on the Federation of American Zionists' Administrative Committee.⁴⁷ Schechter and his faculty viewed the re-establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine as much more than a mere political program; for them it was a religious imperative. To them, the Torah, the one-ness of God, the Jewish People, the Land of Israel, and God's concept of Israel constituted an indissoluble partner-

⁴⁷On Schechter's influence in shaping a Conservative alliance with Zionism, see Louis Finkelstein, "Solomon Schechter as a Zionist," New Palestine, December 13, 1950, p. 10; and Louis Lipsky, A Gallery of Zionist Profiles (New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, 1956), pp. 184-91.

ship; the well-being of all aspects were dependent on the health of any of the elements. The Hebrew language, Jewish folkways, the Zionist colonization of the Holy Land all became the essence of "Jewish civilization."

Rabbinical Assembly President, Mordecai Kaplan, praised the achievements of Jewish Palestine in the days of the early Nazi terror, and urged the integration of the Zionist ideal with the totality of American Jewish life. To this end, he suggested that the Zionist Organization of America be broadened to include members and representatives of all religious, cultural, and educational institutions who considered Palestine as signifying Jewish reawakening.⁴⁸

As with Orthodox Jews, Palestine and Zionism were subjects which permeated the Conservative religious schools, influencing a rising generation of young American Jewry. A poll of Conservative educators in the mid-1940's illustrated the extent to which sympathetic dispositions toward Zionism were fostered by Conservative rabbis and teachers alike.⁴⁹

To conclude, a Jew's attitude towards Israel is based on two factors: religious affiliation and social outlook. While affiliation with Orthodox or Reform Judaism does not necessarily imply a positive attitude toward Zionism, Conservative affiliation does imply this. Being Zionist or not is also affected by how much a particular Jew wants to assimilate with his surroundings and how much being a Zionist interrupts this process.

⁴⁸ Rabbinical Assembly of America, Proceedings, II, 1927, pp. 32, 51.

⁴⁹ Louis Katzoff, Issues in Jewish Education: A Study of the Conservative Congregational School (New York: Block Publishing Co., 1949), p. 92.

Within the educational system, a Zionist orientation involves the use of Hebrew as the main language of instruction in the Jewish Studies program. It implies selecting pro-Zionist literature for the Jewish Zionist school. In the field of Bible instruction, it means that emphasis will be placed on certain chapters, depending on the nature of the school (religious or non-religious).

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

Jewish parents, having different viewpoints about Hebrew and Yiddish, will sometimes choose a Jewish Day School based on the language of instruction. This is the third element by which Jewish Day Schools were categorized in the present study, and on which parents based their expectations of the school.

In an article, "My Three Mother Tongues,"⁵⁰ Maurice Samuel expressed his appreciation for being born an American and for having the opportunity to learn and master three languages: English, Hebrew, and Yiddish. American Jews can empathize with Samuel's attitude and the importance he places on those three languages. The languages of instruction employed in the Jewish Studies program of the Jewish Day Schools in the United States and Canada reflect this point of view. The selection of one or more of the three languages, and the proportion of usage, is based on a number of factors: religious orientation, relationship to the State of Israel, and political philosophy. This section analyzes the different

⁵⁰Maurice Samuel, "My Three Mother tongues," The Faith of Secular Jews, ed. Saul I Goodman (New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1976) pp. 287-293.

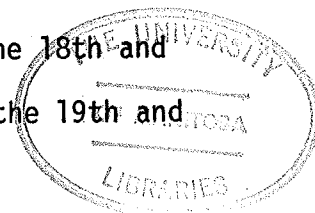
orientations toward the use of Hebrew, Yiddish, and English.

Hebrew

Throughout Jewish history, Hebrew has been accorded a position of reverence. Jewish tradition views Hebrew not only as a language of the Law and of the Bible, but also as the language of God. Even when Hebrew ceased to be the vernacular of particular Jewish communities, as during the Babylonian exile, the Second Commonwealth in Palestine, and during the entire period of European hegemony in Jewish life, the Hebrew language continued to occupy an exalted position; not only for the scholar and rabbi, but even for the most humble layman, who frequently could not understand the Hebrew of his daily worship.

Throughout Jewish history, other languages developed and served as the vernacular. Judeo-Aramaic, Judeo-Arabic, Ladino, and Judeo-Yiddish are examples of such dialects. Some of these languages have even served as a medium for serious religious inquiry and have left traces in Jewish rituals and texts. However, for the masses, none of these vernaculars carried Hebrew's stamp of sanctity, nor did they have the aura of Jewish destiny and universality which Hebrew did. Like the Bible itself, Hebrew has been view as an essential aspect of Jewish immortality. Thus, Hebrew has been intensively studied, and emotionally and ideologically protected in almost all of the Jewish communities, even when not used as the mother tongue.

In North America, Hebrew was not the vernacular of the 17th and 18th century Sephardic (Spanish-Portuguese) Jewish immigrants, nor was it the vernacular of the German-Jewish immigrants who came in the 18th and 19th centuries, or of those who came from Eastern Europe in the 19th and



20th centuries. Nevertheless, Hebrew had a prominent place in the heritage of each of these immigrants, either as a language of prayer and religious instruction, or even of secular study. Among North American Jewry, the most complete mastery of Hebrew is encountered in very different sub-groups: ultra-Orthodox, secular Zionists, and Orthodox Zionists.⁵¹

The ultra-Orthodox are often masters of Biblical, and especially, Talmudic and Medieval Hebrew. For them, the use of Hebrew in prayers, ritual and study, is an aspect of daily life and a precious value. However, most ultra-Orthodox groups consider Hebrew too holy for daily use, i.e., business dealings and sundry chatter. Thus, they are not well versed in modern Hebrew, as spoken in Israel.

Orthodox synagogue schools teach the Hebrew of the prayerbook and that of the Bible, as well as Hebrew-Aramaic of the Talmud. Also, Orthodox synagogues invariably conduct all or most of their formal services in Hebrew. However, the average American Jew affiliated with an Orthodox congregation is unable to converse in Hebrew. The only exception within this group are the Orthodox Zionists, who, like the secular Zionists, consider modern Hebrew as a vernacular.

The secular Zionists include families of writers, intellectuals, educators, and organizational functionaries who frequent socialize with visiting Israelis. The Americans, in turn, often visit Israel with the ultimate goal of settling there, which contributes to strengthening their fluency in the language. This group creates and supports Hebrew speaking

⁵¹ Joshua A. Fishman, Yiddish in America, Social Linguistic Description and Analysis (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1965), pp. 78-85.

camps, offers intensive courses in the language, and publishes journals and books for adults and children. It officially adopts the goal of Hebraizing the Diaspora.

Although there are some Conservative and Reform Jews who are fluent in modern Hebrew, these factions in the United States require very little mastery of Hebrew for either worship or ritual purposes at the lay level. Almost all Conservative and Reform synagogue schools devote time to instruction in modern Hebrew and in Hebrew prayers, but this involves from less than an hour per week to four or more weekly hours (with the former most common).⁵²

In conclusion, there are three schools of thought regarding the use of the Hebrew language. One is unalterably committed to the use of Hebrew in the Judaic program. Another is strongly opposed to the use of the Holy Tongue as a medium of instruction. The third group recognizes the value of Hebrew as a language of instruction, but sees many difficulties in implementing it successfully, and feels that there are some benefits in using the child's native tongue as the language of conversation in the classroom.⁵³

It should be noted that Hebrew language mastery is often reinforced by other subject matter taught in most Jewish schools, e.g. Bible, prayer, customs, life in Israel, etc. Dushkin and Englemen note that

. . . in reality the schools suffer from two shortcomings: lack of time and confusion of purpose. . . the confusion is evidently in the attempt to implement at the same time three different purposes in learning Hebrew. . . as a modern functioning language, as a preparation for understanding

⁵²A. I. Schiff, The Jewish Day School in America (2nd ed., New York: Jewish Education Community Press, 1968), pp. 104-10.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 109-10.

Bible and Hebraic literature and as a preparation for the reading of prayers and liturgy.⁵⁴

Yiddish

For several generations, Yiddish was the primary vernacular of the majority of European Jews. In Eastern Europe, Talmudic learning was traditionally conducted in Yiddish, as was religious argumentation. Jewish religious life, holidays and customs are depicted in classical and modern Yiddish literature to a fuller extent than in any other literature. Even in America, up to the present time, there have been proponents of perpetuating the use of the Yiddish language. This attitude was expressed recently by Hyman Bass, who stated that:

. . . one step must be taken resolutely by Jewish School movements; that step being the restoration of Ashkanazie and Eastern European culture to the category of a great national aspiration. . . must proclaim the vital importance of the study of Eastern European Jewish history and Yiddish language and literature in rabbinic seminaries of all denominations.⁵⁵

Bass and many others implore the Jewish people to continue the study of Yiddish and its culture. They lament the apparent demise of Yiddish.

On the other hand, since the Berlin Enlightenment, the Yiddish language has been subjected to continuous persecutions by some Jews as a means of gaining approval in Germany and Central and Eastern European countries.

Yiddish accompanied the different waves of immigration to North America in the last two centuries. Each immigrant group brought with it its own philosophies, culture, and approach to Yiddish.

⁵⁴Alexander M. Dushkin and Uriah Z. Engelman, Jewish Education in the United States, Report of the Commission for the Study of Jewish Education in the United States (1959).

⁵⁵Hyman Bass, The World of Yiddish (New York: Congress for Jewish Culture, Inc., 1976), p. 10.

One can categorize the users of Yiddish into three groups: the secular sector; the "middle range" sector; and the ultra-Orthodox sector.⁵⁶

Secular sector. The first Yiddish Secular Schools in America were organized before World War I and experienced their major growth in the 1920's and 1930's. The largest network of Yiddish Secular Schools is maintained by the Workmen's Circle. These schools were founded with a socialist orientation which became somewhat attenuated over the years. At the same time, these schools moved from an originally anti-clericalist position toward a more tradition-tolerant view.⁵⁷ This perspective stresses the ethnic-history component of most traditional Jewish observances.

The schools of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance (Furband) are now more accurately referred to as Hebrew-Yiddish schools. Originally socialist-Zionist in orientation, the socialist component has been largely de-emphasized over the years, and Zionism has been increasingly stressed. As a result, Hebrew, which was included in the curriculum from the outset, has gained increased emphasis, whereas Yiddish has been steadily de-emphasized.

A third school network is maintained by the Sholem Aleichem Folk Institute. This group has never manifested any partisan Jewish or general political coloration, although it expresses sympathies to both Israel and to social justice. A fourth network of schools teaching

⁵⁶Joshua A. Fishman, Yiddish in America, Social Linguistic Description and Analysis (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1965) pp. 22-64.

⁵⁷Yosel Mlotek, "The New Jewish Home and Our School," Kultur un Deetsiung, XXIV, No. 4 (1954), 12-17.

Yiddish includes the remaining schools of the former Jewish People Order of the I.W.B. In these schools, Yiddish is a proletarian-secular symbol, rather than a Jewish cultural vehicle.

In all of these schools, Yiddish still has proletarian--or at least liberal - labor--and ethnic-secular overtones. The destruction of East European Jewry served to underscore Yiddish as a link with the past and with Jewish traditions. However, the traditionalization of Yiddish secular education has also been affected by a greater emphasis on a religiously regimented Jewry in America and on a growing conviction that an unreconstructed secular Jewishness cannot maintain itself.

The Yiddish secular educational scene has become the major vantage point from which secularism as a philosophy of Jewish creative existence in the diaspora is viewed.⁵⁸ For many teachers, school board members, and parents, secularism still has much the same appeal as it did years ago. its national cultural emphasis is considered more enlightened, more progressive and more honest than the "pseudo-religious revival" that has purportedly gripped America since World War II. Thus, there are many who still demand a curriculum which pays primary attention to the Yiddish language, and which offers Yiddish literature and a modern secular nationalist interpretation of holidays, history, and world events.

As the pupils of Yiddish schools come increasingly from English-speaking homes and enter an Anglo-Jewish environment after graduation, it has become more difficult to imbue Yiddish secular schooling with either an ideological or behavioral uniqueness. The language is the only hallmark of these schools. However, the language is increasingly related more

⁵⁸L. Lehrer, Jewish Education (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute-Yivo, 1936), pp. 33-42.

to a web of the teachers' sentiments and memories than to any viable culture into which the children can be socialized. Thus, the number of Yiddish Secular Schools are decreasing, because secular-culturist Jewish life has neither a strong organizational basis, nor an ideological-psychological spark that registers with American-born Jewry. Yiddish influence has, however, blossomed forth in a number of institutions of higher general education.

"Middle range" sector. There is a middle range of American Jewry which accounts for a majority of the American Jewish population. This middle range includes most Conservative, Orthodox, and Reform Jews, as well as the great mass euphemistically referred to as "unaffiliated." This sector has passed through a number of different stages in its attitude toward Yiddish. For the first American-bred generation, Yiddish was a badge of shame. For them, it was the indicator of lowly immigrant status or of immigrant parentage. The next generation was sufficiently secure to look upon Yiddish with some humor and good nature. Yiddish stood for all the faux-pas of the immigrant generation in its helpless fumbings and gropings for adjustment. Yiddish was a reminder of one's own superiority, one's own progress. The third generation, with even greater detachment, learned that Yiddish deserved respect. It was becoming a rarity--no longer spoken in the stores or at union meetings, and no longer were Yiddish grandparents in generous supply.

The Second World War and the destruction of European Jewry and their Yiddish language and culture, added an impetus to the appreciation of Yiddish. Translations from the Yiddish began to appear in Anglo-Jewish periodicals, together with biographies of Yiddish writers. A Conservative

assembly passed a resolution on the great cultural significance of Yiddish, and later, temporarily introduced Yiddish courses into the curriculum of its central adult education program. Yiddish was considered picturesque and expressive. Never before had Yiddish so much popular, nominal prestige and so little functional role.

Ultra-Orthodox sector. With respect to the attitude toward Yiddish, ultra-Orthodox Jews fall into two main categories. First are the majority, who use Yiddish primarily as the language of Talmudic study. Intensive study of the Talmud is the cornerstone of ultra-Orthodox education. Until World War II, the centers of Talmudic study were in Eastern Europe, where it was traditional to teach Talmud in Yiddish and to dispute and interpret its fine points in that language. A majority of current Talmudic scholars teach and study Talmud in Yiddish. Thus, when these ultra-Orthodox Jews establish all-day schools in American cities, the study of Talmud in Yiddish is frequently a part of the academic program. However, with the passage of time, an increasing number of American-born Talmudic scholars are being trained to teach the Talmud in English.

The second group of ultra-Orthodox Jews are the Hassidic Jews. Most Hassidim are post-World War II immigrants from Hungary, the Ukraine and Poland. They have mastered English to the extent required for business and other mundane pursuits. However, they have carefully preserved their former family and group structure, and their old-world customs. Among them, Yiddish has remained the language for young and old. It is quite possible that Hassidic children represent the last natural community of Yiddish-speaking youngsters in America today. In the Hassidic

world, Yiddish is viewed as an aspect of uniqueness with which pious Jews garb themselves in order to completely separate themselves from the temptations of the secular world.

English

In the American school system, most Jewish Day Schools use Hebrew or Yiddish, or a combination of these, as the main language of instruction in the Jewish Studies program. Very few Jewish schools in the United States, and none in Canada, use English as the only language of religious instruction. The ratio of English to Hebrew and/or Yiddish in the Jewish Day School is an important consideration in curriculum planning. Although some curricula use an immersion method, employing only Hebrew or Yiddish in the classroom as the language of instruction, Schiff discusses the advantage of using English:

Using Hebrew as a medium of instruction is a time-wasting approach. It is far easier, and less time consuming to communicate with children in their native tongue or in a language which they readily understand. The use of the child's native language makes it easier for them to communicate ideas in school, at home and in the synagogue. During the formative years, the development of positive attitudes to Jewish living is of paramount importance. In the early grades Jewish values can be taught more readily in the vernacular.⁵⁹

There is no consensus as to how much English should be employed in the Jewish Studies programs. Each school has its own policy on this issue and the degree of English language usage depends on the school's orientation and philosophy. Table 3 presents the distribution of the use of these languages in Jewish Day Schools.

⁵⁹ Alvin I. Schiff, The Jewish Day School in America (New York: Jewish Education Community Press, 1968).

Table 3

The Relationship Between Language of Instruction, Religious
Orientation and Attitude Towards Israel

	Hebrew	Yiddish	English
<u>Religious Orientation</u>			
Ultra-Orthodox	Biblical Hebrew Considered holy language	Judaic studies	communication
Orthodox	modern Hebrew Biblical Hebrew Bible studies prayer & ceremonies	some Judaic studies nostalgia*	catalyst for ideas
Conservative	modern Hebrew minimal Biblical Hebrew	nostalgia*	synagogue ceremonies
Reform	modern Hebrew	nostalgia*	all ceremonies & religious studies
<u>Attitude Toward Israel</u>			
Secular Zionist	modern Hebrew minimal Biblical Hebrew	nostalgia*	none in Jewish Studies program
Religious Zionist	modern Hebrew Biblical Hebrew	nostalgia*	when used at all-- as catalyst for ideas
Secular non-Zionist	no Hebrew	primary language in Jewish Studies program	when used at all-- as catalyst for ideas

*Nostalgia curriculum is based on historical roots, sentimental ties to grandparents who spoke Yiddish; very few hours per week would be given in this category.

As evident from Table 3, a school's attitude toward Israel is another factor affecting the choice of instructional language, and influences the selection of Biblical studies and history program, as well as other school policies. It should be stressed that virtually all Jewish schools have an attitude of one sort or another toward Israel. Thus, a comprehensive analysis of the programs offered by Jewish Day Schools should relate to all three of the categories discussed heretofore--religion, relationship to Israel, and language--since these categories encompass all of the variables within the Jewish Day School system and they are the basis of every Jewish school. It follows, then, that the optimum approach to analyzing the extent to which the schools fulfill the parents' expectations would be in terms of these three categories.

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODS

Subjects

Parents. The study included parents whose children were enrolled in the first, third and sixth grades of all Winnipeg Jewish Day Schools during the 1979-80 school year. In addition, parents of kindergarten pupils at the Herzlia Academy were included (since at that time there were no other classes in that school).

A questionnaire was given to 353 students in four schools: Ramah Hebrew School, Talmud Torah, Peretz School, and Herzlia Academy. The pupils were asked to give the questionnaires to their parents to be filled out, and to return answered questionnaires to their teachers. A follow-up reminder was sent to non-respondents a week later, and a third reminder was sent two weeks after that. The total number of responses was 139, a return-rate of 39.7 percent. The distribution of responses in each of the schools is presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Parental Responses to Questionnaires According to School

Jewish Day School	No. Students who Received Questionnaire	No. of Responses	Percentage of Responses
Ramah Hebrew School	145	52	35.9
Talmud Torah	98	48	49.0
Peretz School	92	34	37.0
Herzlia Academy	18	5	27.8
Total	353	139	39.4

It can be seen from Table 4 that 35.9 percent of Ramah parents who received the questionnaire responded, as did 49.0 percent of Talmud Torah parents, 37.0 percent of Peretz parents and 27.8 percent of the parents of pupils in Herzlia Academy.

Table 5 presents the distribution of respondents according to religious affiliation and sex. The breakdown according to respondents' sex was almost identical with that of the group as a whole, in which 67.6 percent considered themselves Conservative, 17.3 percent Reform, 7.2 percent Orthodox, and 7.9 percent secular.

Table 5
Distribution of Respondents by Religious Affiliation and Sex

Religious Affiliation	Male (N=48)		Female (N=91)		Total (N=139)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Orthodox	5	10.4	5	5.5	10	7.2
Conservative	32	66.7	62	68.1	94	67.6
Reform	8	16.7	16	17.6	24	17.3
Secular	3	6.2	8	8.8	11	7.9
Total	48		91		139	

The distribution of respondents' synagogue membership or non-member affiliation can be observed from Table 6. Of the 101 respondents who were synagogue members, 7.9 percent belonged to an Orthodox synagogue, 92.1 percent to a Conservative, and none belonged to a Reform temple. Among those who were non-members, 5.3 percent considered themselves Orthodox, 2.6 percent Conservative, 63.2 percent Reform, and 28.4 percent secular.

Table 6
Distribution of Respondents' Synagogue Membership
or Non-Member Affiliation

Religious Affiliation	Members		Non-members	
	n	%	n	%
Orthodox	8	7.9	2	5.3
Conservative	93	92.1	1	2.6
Reform	0	0.0	24	63.2
Secular	0	0.0	11	28.4
Total. . . .	101		38	

Table 7 presents the relation between religious affiliation and years of Jewish education, i.e., any kind of formal study in a Jewish educational institution. Fifty percent of the Orthodox respondents received from four to six years of Jewish education, as did 41.5 percent of

Table 7
The Relation Between Respondents' Religious Affiliation
and Years of Jewish Education

Religious Affiliation	N	No. of Years of Jewish Education							
		0-3		4-6		7-9		10-12	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Orthodox	10	0	0.0	5	50.0	2	20.0	3	30.0
Conservative	94	15	16.0	39	41.5	26	27.6	14	14.9
Reform	24	2	8.3	8	33.3	11	45.9	3	12.5
Secular	11	1	9.1	5	45.4	4	36.4	1	9.1
Total. . . .	139	18		57		43		21	

the Conservative, 45.4 percent of the secular, and only 33.3 percent of the Reform respondents. For the secular Jews, the largest group of respondents was in the four-to-six-year category, while Reform parents' education peaked at seven to nine years (45.9 percent). The Orthodox parents had the most enduring record, with 30 percent completing ten to twelve years of Jewish education, while 14.9 percent of the Conservative, 12.5 percent of the Reform, and only 9.1 percent of the secular parents had this many years of Jewish education.

School staff. The administrators of all four Jewish Day Schools in Winnipeg were interviewed. In addition, two teachers from each school with at least three years seniority in that school were interviewed. One teacher was from the lower grades (1-3) and one from the higher grades (4-6).

Research Tools

Parent questionnaires. A four-part questionnaire used in this study (see Appendix A) was designed to obtain information from parents of children attending the Jewish Day Schools in Winnipeg. It was distributed to a sample of parents of children in first, third and sixth grades (in the Herzlia Academy it was distributed to parents of kindergarten children, this being the only class in the school).

Part I of the questionnaire elicited information about the respondents' religious beliefs and practices, synagogue membership, and the extent of their own Jewish education.

Parts II and III evaluated the importance which parents attached to time devoted in the curriculum to various Jewish subjects, including Torah

(Bible), Jewish laws, Hebrew reading, Hebrew literature, Yiddish reading, Yiddish literature, Israeli geography and current events, and the parents' attitudes to teaching methodology in religious studies.

Part IV of the questionnaire dealt with parents' expectations regarding the outcome of their children's Jewish education and the children's future life style with respect to three primary categories: religion, language, and relation to Israel.

School staff interviews. The interview developed for and used in this study (see Appendix B) was designed to obtain information from the administrators (principals and coordinators of Jewish Studies programs) and two teachers in each school. The interview included 15 questions which explored the respondents' degree of religious practice and their opinion of the emphasis placed on religion, language and attitude toward Israel in the school in which they worked. The questions were open-ended and volunteered information was accepted and recorded. The interviews were recorded on tape.

Chapter 4

PARENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF WINNIPEG JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Parents' expectations of school curriculum are expressed by the degree of importance which they attach to each subject taught and in how much time they feel should be spent teaching a particular subject. Part II of the parent questionnaire explored these expectations with regard to four subjects. The questions relating to these subjects were:

1. How important is it to you that the school devote time to the teaching of religious subjects?
2. How important is it to you that the school devote time to the teaching of Hebrew?
3. How important is it to you that the school devote time to the teaching of Yiddish?
4. How important is it to you that the school devote time to the teaching of Israeli subjects.

In order to achieve greater clarity and simplicity, the five possible responses to these questions were consolidated into three categories: (1) important--includes responses of "extremely" and "greatly" important; (2) neutral--includes responses of "somewhat" important; and (3) not important--including responses of "no opinion" or "not at all" important.

The following discussion is a survey and analysis of the responses of parents in each school to these questions.

Importance of Time Devoted to Teaching Religious Subjects

The question regarding religious studies was divided into eight sub-topics: Torah, Prophets, laws, Jewish holiday practices, Jewish holiday traditions, Siddur (prayerbook) learning, praying, and Jewish life. Table 8 presents the percentages of parents in each school who rated each of these subjects as important. This data will be discussed

Table 8

Percentage of Parents in Each School who Considered Various Religious Subjects Important to the Curriculum

Subject Matter	Jewish Day School			
	Talmud Torah (n = 48)	Peretz (n = 34)	Ramah (n = 52)	Herzlia (n = 5)
Jewish Holiday Tradition	90%	74%	92%	100%
Jewish Holiday Practice	83	65	87	100
Jewish Life	86	88	92	80
<u>Torah</u>	67	47	62	60
<u>Siddur</u>	61	41	61	60
Praying	67	29	65	60
Jewish Laws	61	47	46	40
Prophets	56	29	44	60

for each school separately, and detailed response patterns are presented in Appendix C.

Talmud Torah. Parents at the Orthodox Talmud Torah School considered the study of Jewish holiday traditions the most important subject in the Jewish Studies curriculum, with 90 percent ranking it "important." Jewish holiday practice and Jewish life also received emphatic ratings of "important," with 83 and 86 percent of these parents stressing them,

respectively. Talmud Torah parents considered Prophets the least important subject in the Jewish Studies curriculum, with only 56 percent ranking it "important." In the ranks of middling importance were the study of the Siddur (71 percent), Prayer and Torah (67 percent each), and Jewish laws (61 percent). However, it is evident that all of the religious subjects are important to the majority of Talmud Torah parents.

Peretz School. In the Peretz (Yiddish) School, 88 percent of the parents deemed the study of Jewish life important to the curriculum, with the fewest parents (29 percent) considering Prayer learning and Prophets as important. Siddur, Jewish laws, and Torah were rated as "important" by less than half of the parents (41, 47 and 47 percent, respectively). Jewish holiday practice and holiday tradition studies were deemed quite important, with 65 percent and 74 percent of the parents ranking them as "important," respectively.

Ramah School. Ramah (Conservative) School parents considered both the study of Jewish holiday tradition and Jewish life extremely important to the Jewish Studies curriculum, being rated as "important" by 92 percent of the parents. Jewish holiday practice followed closely, being considered important by 87 percent of the parents. The Ramah parents placed less stress on the study of Prophets and Jewish laws, these being considered important by only 44 and 46 percent of the parents respectively. Torah, Siddur, and Prayer learning were of middling importance to these parents, rated as "important" by 62, 61, and 65 percent, respectively.

Herzlia Academy. Herzlia parents unanimously and resoundingly considered Jewish holiday practice and Jewish holiday tradition very

important parts of the Jewish Studies curriculum, both subjects being rated "important" by all of the respondents from this school. Eighty percent of these parents considered the study of Jewish life as important, and 60 percent considered the study of Torah, Prophets, Siddur, and Prayer learning as important. Only 40 percent of the Herzlia parents considered the study of Jewish law as important to the curriculum.

It should be noted that the conclusions with respect to the Herzlia Academy were drawn from only five responses and must, therefore, be considered with due caution. Also, the fact that these were parents of pupils of kindergarten age may have had some affect on their attitudes toward the teaching of the various topics.

Summary. This group of questions was designed to verify the degree of importance which parents placed on the teaching of specific religious studies in the Jewish Day School curriculum. In general, parents expected all religious subjects to be taught, however there was variation in the percentages of parents which deemed different topics as important in the curriculum. At Talmud Torah, expectations of time devoted to religious studies and the importance attached to these studies were the highest. Peretz School parents ranked lowest in percentage of those attaching importance to the teaching of religious studies.

Importance of Time Devoted to Teaching Hebrew Language Studies

The parent questionnaire inquired into the degree of importance which parents placed on six subjects included in the study of Hebrew: reading, writing, conversation, grammar, literature, and learning Torah in Hebrew. The percentage of parents in each school who rated these

topics "important" is presented in Table 9 (detailed response patterns are presented in Appendix C).

Table 9

Percentage of Parents in Each School who Considered Various Hebrew Language Subjects Important to the Curriculum

Subject Matter	Jewish Day School			
	Talmud Torah (n = 48)	Peretz (n = 34)	Ramah (n = 52)	Herzlia (n = 5)
Reading Hebrew	94%	79%	88%	100%
Writing Hebrew	85	79	77	100
Hebrew Conversation	94	74	92	100
Hebrew Grammar	71	79	69	80
Hebrew Literature	58	47	50	60
Learning <u>Torah</u> in Hebrew	56	32	46	60

Talmud Torah. An overwhelming majority (94 percent) of Talmud Torah parents considered the study of Hebrew reading and conversation important aspects of the school curriculum. Most of them also felt that the study of Hebrew writing and grammar were also important (85 percent and 71 percent, respectively). Although the fewest parents rated the study of Hebrew literature and the study of Torah in Hebrew as "important," even these were in the majority (56 and 58 percent, respectively).

Peretz School. It is apparent from Table 9 that parents of pupils in the Peretz School were less enthusiastic about Hebrew language studies than were those in the Talmud Torah. Hebrew reading, writing and grammar were rated "important" by 79 percent of the parents, and Hebrew conversation drew a 74 percent rating in importance, however the study of Torah in Hebrew

and the study of Hebrew literature were considered important by less than half of these parents (32 and 47 percent, respectively).

Ramah School. Hebrew conversation was the Hebrew language subject most often rated "important" by parents at the Ramah School (92 percent). Hebrew reading was also rated "important" by a large proportion (88 percent), while learning Torah in Hebrew and learning Hebrew literature and grammar drew less support (46, 50, and 69 percent, respectively). Learning to write Hebrew was considered important by a moderate 77 percent of the parents.

Herzlia Academy. All of the Herzlia parents considered Hebrew reading, writing and conversation important in the curriculum. Grammar was ranked "important" by 80 percent, and a narrow majority--60 percent--of the Herzlia parents considered learning Torah in Hebrew and learning Hebrew literature important. These results must be viewed with caution, since they were drawn from only five responses.

Summary. In general, Winnipeg Jewish Day School parents considered Hebrew language studies of lesser importance than religious studies. Among the Hebrew language subjects, reading and conversation were given most importance, followed by writing and grammar. Parents at the Peretz School placed least emphasis on Hebrew language instruction, perhaps reflecting their view that Hebrew is an academic, rather than a "living" language. On the other hand, Hebrew reading and conversation were stressed by Ramah School parents over the more academic aspects of writing and grammar, perhaps indicating that they consider Hebrew as a language of communication, not only classroom study. Talmud Torah and Herzlia Academy parents rated Hebrew literature higher in importance than did parents in the other schools,

possibly signalling a different orientation towards Israel (to be discussed further on).

Importance of Time Devoted to Teaching Yiddish Language Studies

The questionnaire related to six aspects of the study of Yiddish: reading, writing, conversation, grammar, literature, and learning Torah in Hebrew. Parents' attitudes toward these subjects are reflected by the percentage of those considering Yiddish language subjects important to the school curriculum, as presented in Table 10, below.

Table 10

Percentage of Parents in Each School who Considered Various Yiddish Language Subjects Important to the Curriculum

Subject Matter	Jewish Day School			
	Talmud Torah (n = 48)	Peretz (n = 34)	Ramah (n = 52)	Herzlia (n = 5)
Reading Yiddish	25%	82%	21%	0%
Writing Yiddish	19	82	19	0
Yiddish Conversation	40	79	42	0
Yiddish Grammar	17	79	21	20
Yiddish Literature	23	65	21	40
Learning <u>Torah</u> in Yiddish	4	30	8	0

Talmud Torah. Talmud Torah parents' attitude reflect fairly weak support of any kind of Yiddish instruction. Only 40 percent considered the study of Yiddish conversation important, while reading, writing, grammar and literature received far less support (25, 19, 17 and 23 percent respectively). Finally, only 4 percent of the parents at the Talmud Torah felt

that it was important for their children to learn Torah in Yiddish. (Further details of the response patterns for all of the schools can be seen in Appendix C).

Peretz School. Peretz School parents differed greatly in their attitude toward the Yiddish language studies from parents in the other schools. Fully 82 percent of Peretz parents considered Yiddish reading and writing instruction important in the curriculum, while 79 percent considered Yiddish conversation and grammar important. Even at the lower end of the spectrum, for Yiddish literature and learning Torah in Yiddish (65 and 30 percent, respectively) these parents far exceeded the others in the stress they placed upon Yiddish instruction.

Ramah School. Ramah parents did not consider Yiddish studies an important part of the Jewish Studies curriculum. Only 42 percent of them rated Yiddish conversation instruction "important," while roughly one fifth of them considered Yiddish reading, writing, grammar and literature to be important. A mere 8 percent rated learning of Torah in Yiddish as "important."

Herzlia Academy. There was no support at all among the parents at Herzlia Academy for the study of Yiddish reading, writing, conversation and Torah learning in the school curriculum. Only 20 and 40 percent of the parents, respectively, considered Yiddish grammar and literature studies to be important. (The reader is reminded that these results are based on only five questionnaires).

Summary. Yiddish language instruction is considered most important by parents at the Peretz School, and least important by those at Herzlia

Academy. Peretz parents seemed to consider Yiddish as a "living" language to be used for communication. Talmud Torah and Ramah parents focused on Yiddish conversation, perhaps reflecting a nostalgic affection for the language. However they did not view Yiddish studies as an integral part of the Jewish Studies curriculum.

Importance of Time Devoted to Israeli Studies

The questionnaire dealt with parental attitudes toward learning about Israel with respect to four sub-topics: Israeli geography, the history of Israel, current events about Israel, and Israeli culture. The degree to which parents at the various schools stressed these subjects is presented in Table 11 (detailed response patterns are presented in Appendix C).

Table 11

Percentage of Parents in Each School who Considered
Israeli Studies Important to the Curriculum

Subject Matter	Jewish Day School			
	Talmud Torah (n = 48)	Peretz (n = 34)	Ramah (n = 52)	Herzlia (n = 5)
Geography of Israel	71%	68%	79%	100%
History of Israel	90	79	87	100
Israeli Current Events	88	82	87	100
Israeli Culture	79	79	83	80

Talmud Torah. Talmud Torah parents considered Israeli history and current events important more often than Israeli culture and geography (90 and 88 percent vs. 79 and 71 percent, respectively).

Peretz School. It is indicative of the general trend, that although Peretz School parents generally rated Israeli studies as less important than did parents in the other schools, even here the percentages are high. The lowest proportion of parents (68 percent) thought studying the geography of Israel was important, while Israeli history, current events and culture were so rated by 79, 82 and 79 percent, respectively.

Ramah School. Most parents at the Ramah school considered Israeli studies highly important. Eighty-seven percent ranked Israeli history and current events "important," 83 percent considered Israeli culture an important feature of the curriculum, as did 79 percent regarding Israeli geography.

Herzlia Academy. All five of the Herzlia parents who responded to the questionnaire considered Israeli geography, history and current events instruction important in the school curriculum. Eighty percent considered Israeli culture an important subject.

Summary. Support for Israeli studies was strongest at the Herzlia and Ramah schools, and weakest at the Peretz school. At all four schools, parents ranked Israeli history and current events as the most important subjects.

Expectations Regarding Religious Teaching Methodology and Practice

The first section of Part III of the parent questionnaire dealt with which of various possible methods of teaching Torah they preferred, and which and how much Jewish law instruction the parents expected from the school. In addition, the extent to which parents wish teachers to encourage

children's religious practice at home was rated, as were parental expectations regarding the teacher's own religious life-style. The results are shown in Table 12.

Table 12
Percentage of Parents Expecting Particular Religious
Teaching Methodology and Practice

Item	Jewish Day School			
	Talmud Torah (n = 48)	Peretz (n = 34)	Ramah (n = 52)	Herzlia (n = 5)
<u>Method of Teaching Torah:</u>				
1. Original text with traditional commentaries . . .	10%	3%	10%	20%
2. Original text with modern & traditional commentaries . .	65	38	69	60
3. Original text with no commentary	4	6	0	0
4. Concise version of the Torah . .	2	6	4	0
5. Concise version using modern language	17	44	15	20
6. No response	2	3	2	0
<u>Teaching of Jewish Laws</u>				
1. All laws should be taught . . .	44	26	42	60
2. Most laws should be taught . .	40	26	27	0
3. Only laws dealing with customs should be taught	14	44	31	40
4. No laws should be taught . . .	0	3	0	0
5. No response	2	0	0	0
<u>Teachers' Encouragement of Religious Practice at Home</u>				
1. Yes	40	12	29	60
2. No	18	47	35	20
3. Partially	40	41	36	0
4. No response	2	0	0	0
<u>Expectations of Teachers' Personal Religious Life-Style</u>				
1. Orthodox	9	3	2	60
2. Conservative	6	6	25	20
3. Reform	4	0	2	0
4. Not concerned	81	9	71	20
5. No response	0	82	0	0

It should be noted that the preference of Torah teaching methodology is often linked to religious ideology. Studying the original text with traditional commentaries, such as Rashi, often signifies an Orthodox orientation, while studying a concise "version" of the Torah in English points toward a Reform or secular orientation. Conservative Jewish parents often prefer that the original text be studied without commentaries. We will now turn to a discussion of the results as expressed by the parents in each of the schools under study. Details of respondents' scores are presented in Appendix D.

Talmud Torah. A majority of Talmud Torah parents expected that Torah be taught from the original text with both modern and traditional commentaries (65 percent so indicated), pointing toward a "modern" Orthodox or Conservative ideology. An English version of the Torah was preferred by 17 percent of these parents, and only 10 percent insisted that the original text be used with exclusively traditional commentaries.

With respect to the Jewish laws, 44 percent of the parents expected that the school teach all Jewish laws, and an additional 40 percent felt that most laws should be taught. A smaller group, 14 percent, insisted only that laws pertaining to specific customs, e.g. holiday observances, be taught. Concerning the actual practice of the Jewish laws, 40 percent of Talmud Torah parents felt that the teachers should stress observance of all the laws in the child's own home, and a further 40 percent felt that the teacher should encourage the observance of at least some Jewish laws at home. Only 18 percent of these parents did not expect the teacher to encourage observance of Jewish law at home.

Eighty-one percent of the Talmud Torah parents did not concern them-

selves with the teacher's personal religious life-style. Smaller groups felt that the teacher should practice an Orthodox (9 percent), Conservative (6 percent) or Reform (4 percent) life-style.

Peretz School. Parents at the Peretz school were split almost equally between two methods of teaching Torah; 44 percent preferred an English version be used, and 38 percent preferred the use of the original text with both modern and traditional commentaries.

With respect to the teaching of Jewish law, the largest block of Peretz parents, 44 percent, wanted their children to learn only the laws pertaining to customs. Equal groups of 26 percent each wanted their children to learn either all or most of the Jewish laws. While 47 percent of these parents did not expect the teacher to encourage their children to practice Jewish laws at home, 41 percent thought that the teacher should encourage the observance of some Jewish laws in the home.

Most Peretz parents (82 percent) did not address the issue of the teacher's personal religious life-style. Of the 18 percent who responded on this issue, 9 percent said that the issue did not concern them, 3 percent thought the teacher should practice an Orthodox life-style, and 6 percent preferred a Conservative one.

Ramah School. Most of the Ramah School parents (69 percent) expected that Torah be taught from the original text with modern and traditional commentaries. The next most popular method was the use of a concise version taught in English (15 percent), while 10 percent preferred that the original text with only traditional commentaries be used.

Forty-two percent of Ramah parents expected that the teacher teach all Jewish laws, and an additional 27 percent felt that most of the laws

should be covered in the classroom. Thirty-one percent were interested only in the Jewish laws pertaining to Jewish customs being taught. While 29 percent of Ramah parents felt that the teachers should encourage the practice of all Jewish laws at home, an additional 36 percent thought it enough for the teacher to encourage parts of the law. A large group, of 35 percent, felt that the teacher should offer no such encouragement at all.

Most Ramah parents, 71 percent, were not concerned about the teacher's personal religious practices, but among those who expressed a preference, fully 25 percent felt that the teacher should lead a Conservative way of life.

Herzlia Academy. A majority of Herzlia parents, 60 percent, felt that Torah should be taught from the original text with modern and traditional commentaries, that all of the Jewish laws should be taught in the school and that the teacher should encourage practice of all of these laws at home, and that the teacher should lead an Orthodox way of life. These results would indicate that Herzlia parents have a definite Orthodox orientation, however it should be noted again that these results are drawn from only five respondents.

Summary. The majority of parents at the Ramah, Herzlia and Talmud Torah schools preferred that Torah be taught from the original text with both modern and traditional commentaries. On the other hand, the largest group of Peretz School parents preferred their children to study a concise version of the Torah in English.

The majority of parents in the Talmud Torah, Ramah and Herzlia schools expected their children to learn all or most of the Jewish laws in

school. Again, Peretz parents differed, in that they preferred that the children learn only those Jewish laws pertaining to traditional customs.

There was no concensus on the question of how much Jewish Law the teachers should encourage the children to observe at home. While most parents at the Talmud Torah felt that teachers should encourage practice of all or some of the Jewish laws at home, as did sizeable proportions in the other schools, nearly half of the Peretz School parents and over one third of the Ramah School parents felt that the teacher should not encourage the practice of Jewish laws in the home at all.

Most Winnipeg Jewish Day School parents did not concern themselves with the religious life-style of the teachers. Only Herzlia parents expressed a preference for Orthodox teachers.

Parents' Expectations Regarding Language of Instruction

Parents were asked to indicate what proportion of Hebrew, English and/or Yiddish language usage they expected to be used in the school curriculum. Three sets of proportions were offered for selection:

1. 0-30% and 70-100%--for example, if a respondent chose this score for the Hebrew/English language combination, it would indicate that he felt that Hebrew should be used up to 30 percent of the time, and that English should be used at least 70 percent of the time, i.e. a primarily English-language course of study.

2. 40-60% and 60-40%--representing nearly equal time spent using each of the languages under question.

3. 70-100% and 0-30%--for example, if a respondent selected this score for the Yiddish/English language combination, it would indicate a

preference for the use of Yiddish (70 percent of the time or more) over the use of English (only up to 30 percent of the time).

These preferences, as expressed by respondents from each of the schools, are presented in Table 13. The distribution of responses to each item and from each school is presented in Appendix E.

Table 13

Percentage of Parents Preferring Varying Proportions of Hebrew, Yiddish and English in the School Curriculum

Jewish Day School	Languages	Proportion of Usage			No Response
		0-30%*	40-60%	70-100%*	
Talmud Torah (n = 48)	Hebrew/English	11%	58%	27%	4%
	Yiddish/English	50	27	6	17
	Hebrew/Yiddish	2	15	46	37
Peretz School (n = 34)	Hebrew/English	35	44	15	6
	Yiddish/English	38	35	21	6
	Hebrew/Yiddish	9	56	32	3
Ramah School (n = 52)	Hebrew/English	13	25	60	2
	Yiddish/English	29	19	25	27
	Hebrew/Yiddish	2	8	36	54
Herzlia Academy (n = 5)	Hebrew/English	40	20	40	0
	Yiddish/English	40	0	0	60
	Hebrew/Yiddish	0	0	40	60

*Proportion of curriculum using the first language mentioned.

Talmud Torah. The majority of Talmud Torah parents expected equal use of Hebrew and English during Hebrew lessons; 58 percent chose the 40-60% category. Twenty-seven percent of these parents wanted the Hebrew lessons to be conducted exclusively in Hebrew.

The Talmud Torah parents wanted even less emphasis placed on Yiddish

as a second language. Half of the parents wanted Yiddish to be spoken only 0-30% of the time during Yiddish lessons. An additional 27 percent wanted English and Yiddish to be used equally during Yiddish instruction.

When it came to choosing between Hebrew and Yiddish as a second language, 46 percent of the Talmud Torah parents chose Hebrew over Yiddish. Fifteen percent of them were equally interested in both languages, and a surprising 37 percent did not answer this question at all.

Peretz School. Peretz parents tended toward moderate to light use of Hebrew. Forty-four percent of them expected Hebrew and English to be spoken an equal amount during Hebrew lessons, and 35 percent preferred that English be primarily spoken during Hebrew lessons.

When discussing their preference for Yiddish or English, 38 percent of the Peretz parents preferred that English be spoken during Yiddish instruction, and 35 percent accorded the two languages equal time.

Approximately half (56 percent) of the Peretz parents preferred that Hebrew and Yiddish be given equal time, while only 32 percent preferred heavy use of Hebrew, showing a tendency to heavy Yiddish usage.

Ramah School. A 60 percent majority of Ramah parents expected Hebrew to be the language of instruction during Hebrew lessons. The second largest group of parents (25 percent) preferred that equal time be given to Hebrew and English.

One quarter of the Ramah parents did not concern themselves with the issue of Yiddish/English ratio, and over half of them (54 percent) did not answer the question regarding the Hebrew/Yiddish ratio, showing a disinterest in Yiddish. Of the parents who answered the Yiddish/English question, 29 percent wanted only minimal Yiddish usage, and 36 percent

preferred Hebrew over Yiddish as a second language for their children.

Herzlia Academy. Equal numbers of parents opted for the use of Hebrew and English as the primary language used in Hebrew studies (40 percent each), with the remaining parent preferring an equal balance of the two languages. Three of the five respondents did not address themselves at all to the questions relating to use of Yiddish. Of the remaining two parents, preference was shown for minimal use of Yiddish in Yiddish instruction, and for the provision of Hebrew instead of Yiddish as a second language of instruction.

Summary. Expectations for heavy use of Hebrew in the Judaic Studies program were highest at the Herzlia Academy and at the Ramah School. Parents at the Peretz School were least enthusiastic about Hebrew usage. With respect to Yiddish instruction, Peretz and Ramah school parents were equally supportive, with approximately one quarter of the parents backing it. More Ramah and Talmud Torah parents chose Hebrew over Yiddish as the second language of instruction. Only Peretz School parents preferred Yiddish over Hebrew as a second language.

Parents' Expectations Regarding Fostering Closeness to Israel

The degree of closeness toward Israel which parents expected the school to foster was explored in the final section of Part III of the questionnaire. Four questions were asked. The first related to the parents' desire that the child's teacher encourage him to go to Israel. (It should be noted that among Jews, going to Israel is not seen in the same light as, for example, a summer trip to Hawaii or Europe, but rather as a symbol of

attachment and support.)

The choice of Hebrew teacher is also indicative of an attitude towards Israel. An Israeli shaliach who plans to return to Israel after a two- to four-year teaching stint is a Zionist not only in theory, but in practice as well. In addition to imparting the "flavor" of Israel, in the words of one administrator, such a teacher would endeavor to instill Zionist ideals in his students. This is in addition to his/her being proficient in Judaic subjects, especially in Hebrew. Parents who express a preference for a shaliach as a teacher suggest that they want the school to instill in their child deep feelings toward Israel. Further, an Israeli emigrant teacher who has made Canada his/her home may be a Zionist in theory and may educate his/her students accordingly, but probably not with the zeal of a shaliach. Parents who prefer such a teacher may not show the same attitude toward Israel as do parents preferring a shaliach as teacher. A non-Israeli teacher who is fully qualified to teach Judaic subjects may or may not be a Zionist in theory, but has certainly never been one in practice. Parents preferring such a teacher display the least extent of closeness toward Israel.

Preference for varying degrees of activities and knowledge relating to Israel obviously represent differing attitudes toward Israel.

The results of parental responses to these questions are presented on Table 14. The responses of parents at each of the four schools will be discussed separately.

Talmud Torah. As apparent from the results in Table 14, there were equal-sized groups of parents (46 percent each) who were very enthusiastic and less enthusiastic about wanting the Hebrew teacher to encourage

their children to go to Israel. Only 16 percent were opposed to the idea, indicating quite a high level of support for Israel. On the matter of the teacher himself, the group was roughly split between preference for a shaliach (34 percent), a non-Israeli teacher (29 percent), or an Israeli emigrant (21 percent). Further, 16 percent did not respond to this item at all, adding to the impression of a good deal of ambivalence among the parents regarding the type of teacher preferred.

Table 14
Percentage of Parents Expecting Varying Attitudes
Toward Israel to be Fostered by the School

Item	Jewish Day School			
	Talmud Torah (n = 48)	Peretz (n = 34)	Ramah (n = 52)	Herzlia (n = 5)
1. Teacher's Encouragement of Going to Israel				
a. Yes.....	42%	12%	46%	40%
b. Not very much.....	42	44	23	60
c. Not at all.....	16	41	27	0
d. No response.....	0	3	4	0
2. Preferred Teacher				
a. Shaliach.....	34	14	35	60
b. Israeli emigrant.....	21	44	37	40
c. Non-Israeli.....	29	21	17	0
d. No response.....	16	21	11	0
3. Israeli-Related Activities in the School				
a. More than twice a week...	8	0	0	0
b. Once per week.....	27	12	19	0
c. Once per month.....	48	32	42	100
d. Less than once a month...	13	50	31	0
e. No response.....	4	6	8	0
4. Teachers' Discussion of Israeli Current Events				
a. Yes, every event.....	27	21	29	60
b. Only some events.....	25	12	21	20
c. Only major events.....	46	64	46	20
d. None at all.....	0	3	0	0
e. No response.....	2	0	4	0

Almost half (48 percent) of the Talmud Torah parents felt that one special Israeli activity per month was optimal. A further 27 percent thought that once a week would be acceptable, indicating a generally positive attitude toward the school's fostering a sense of closeness to Israel. This attitude was mirrored in the responses relating to Israeli current events, where 46 percent of the parents preferred a discussion of major Israeli events, and another 27 percent thought that every news event occurring in Israel should be discussed.

Peretz School. Nearly equal numbers of parents did not want the Hebrew teacher to encourage their children to go to Israel at all, or preferred only mild encouragement (41 and 44 percent, respectively). Neither was strong support for Israel expressed in terms of preference for a committed Zionist teacher. Forty-four percent of the parents preferred an emigrant Israeli teacher, and 21 percent preferred a non-Israeli teacher, while only 14 percent preferred that a shaliach serve as teacher.

Fully half of the Peretz parents were satisfied with an Israeli-related activity less than once a month, and none of them felt that such an activity should be provided by the school more often than twice a week. Twelve percent found one activity related to Israel per week to be acceptable, but 32 percent preferred once a month. In general, this distribution reflects less than enthusiasm regarding participation in Israel-centered activities. Most of Peretz School parents did, however, feel that some discussion of Israeli current events should take place in the school. The majority (64 percent) felt that only major events should be covered, and over one fifth (21 percent) felt that coverage of all Israel-related current events would be acceptable. It thus appears that Peretz parents' main

expectation regarding the school's fostering ties to Israel was through discussions of current events in Israel.

Ramah School. Almost half (46 percent) of Ramah School parents strongly favored the teacher's encouraging of their children to go to Israel. An additional 23 percent gave partial support to this idea. Thus, the notion of one's child going to Israel was supported to some extent by a large proportion of Ramah parents. These parents also supported a close commitment to Israel through their choice of teacher. An Israeli shaliach was preferred by 35 percent, and an Israeli emigrant by 37 percent of the parents.

With respect to Israel-oriented activities in school, Ramah parents' support was somewhat less enthusiastic. Only 19 percent favored such activities once a week, the largest group (42 percent) favoring monthly activities of this nature. A sizeable 31 percent felt that less than once a month was sufficient. None of the Ramah School parents felt that Israeli current events should be ignored totally, with 46 percent favoring coverage of only major events, 21 percent favoring selected events, and 27 percent preferring that all current events relating to Israel be discussed in class.

Herzlia School. Three of the Herzlia School parents (60 percent) preferred that the teacher not encourage the child too much to go to Israel, while the remainder (40%) thought the teacher should definitely encourage going to Israel. A Zionist attitude was also reflected in the choice of teacher. Three parents preferred an Israeli shaliach (60 percent), while the others wanted an Israeli emigrant.

All five Herzlia parents thought that one Israeli-related activity per month was appropriate, and all felt that that Israeli current events

should be discussed in school; three wanting every event discussed, one only some events, and the other preferring discussion of only major events. It appears that on all counts, the Herzlia Academy parents expected the school to provide very close ties to Israel.

Summary. The data indicate that parents at the Talmud Torah, Ramah and Herzlia schools expected the children to develop close ties to Israel. Herzlia parents had the strongest expectations in this area. Peretz School parents, on the other hand, lagged far behind in support of their children's close ties to Israel.

Importance to Parents of their Children's Future Practice of Judaism

The final section of the questionnaire invited parents to rate ten items pertaining to their children's future practice of Jewish values. The items included (1) knowing how to take part in Jewish religious practice; (2) observance of Jewish religious practices; (3) having faith in God; (4) living in accordance with Jewish ethical standards; (5) observing the Sabbath; (6) keeping kashruth (Jewish dietary laws); (7) speaking Hebrew; (8) speaking Yiddish; (9) living in Israel; (10) donating money to Israel.

In this section, as in Part II of the questionnaire, the responses were consolidated from five into three categories: "important"--including "extremely" and "greatly"; "neutral"--including "somewhat"; and "not important"--including "not at all" and "no opinion/does not matter." Distribution of all responses to these items are presented in Appendix F. The responses of parents from each school will be discussed separately.

Talmud Torah. The results of responses of Talmud Torah parents are presented in Table 15. Four of the items most often rated "important" by these

Table 15

Importance of Children's Future Fulfillment of Jewish Values,
as Rated by Talmud Torah Parents

Item	Percentage of Parents Rating Item . . .		
	Important	Neutral	Not Important
1. Know how to take part in Jewish religious practice.....	81%*	19%	0%
2. Observe Jewish religious practices..	54	42	4
3. Have faith in God.....	75	23	2
4. Live in accordance with Jewish ethical standards.....	67	27	6
5. Observe the Sabbath.....	42	38	21
6. Keep <u>kashruth</u>	31	38	31
7. Speak Hebrew.....	71	25	4
8. Speak Yiddish.....	21	56	23
9. Live in Israel.....	23	29	48
10. Donate money to Israel.....	50	33	17

* N=48

parents related to religious values: partaking and observance of Jewish practices, faith in God, and abiding by Jewish ethical standards (81,54,75 and 67 percent, respectively). Speaking Hebrew was far more important (71 percent) than Yiddish(21 percent). Commitment to Israel was more often in distant terms-- donating money--than in personal terms--living there (50 vs. 23 percent).

Comparison of these responses to the educational policies of the various religious orientations (presented in Chapter 2) revealed that the

Talmud Torah parents evaluated these items according to a Conservative approach. It might be concluded, then that parents at the Talmud Torah expect their children to practice a Conservative way of life when they grow up.

Peretz School. Inspection of the responses of Peretz School parents (see Table 16) reveals that the two items most often considered important to Peretz parents were knowing how to take part in Jewish religious practice and living in accordance with Jewish ethical standards (71 and 76 percent,

Table 16

Importance of Children's Future Fulfillment of Jewish Values
as Rated by Peretz School Parents

Item	Percentage of Parents Rating Item . . .		
	Important	Neutral	Not Important
1. Know how to take part in Jewish religious practice.....	71%*	26%	3%
2. Observe Jewish religious practices..	53	35	12
3. Have faith in God.....	59	20	21
4. Live in accordance with Jewish ethical standards.....	76	18	6
5. Observe the Sabbath.....	29	45	26
6. Keep <u>kashruth</u>	18	21	61
7. Speak Hebrew.....	56	35	9
8. Speak Yiddish.....	53	41	6
9. Live in Israel.....	3	15	82
10. Donate money to Israel.....	35	36	29

*N=34

to Peretz parents were knowing how to take part in Jewish religious practice and living in accordance with Jewish ethical standards (71 and 76 percent,

respectively. Observance of religious practices and belief in God were also rated "important" by over half of these parents (53 and 59 percent, respectively). Interestingly, speaking Hebrew and speaking Yiddish were rated "important" by almost the same number of parents, with a slight edge for Hebrew (56 and 53 percent, respectively). This is, however, a much higher percentage favoring Yiddish than is evident in any of the other schools studied. Observance of the Sabbath and kashruth laws were rated "important" by much fewer parents (28 and 18 percent, respectively). With respect to Israel, while 35 percent felt it was important that their children would donate money, only 3 percent hoped they would someday live in Israel.

Ramah School. As apparent from Table 17, Ramah parents considered taking part in religious practices, belief in God, and living in accordance

Table 17

Importance of Children's Future Fulfillment of Jewish Values
as Rated by Ramah School Parents

Item	Percentage of Parents Rating Item . . .		
	Important	Neutral	Not Important
1. Know how to take part in Jewish religious practice.....	83%*	15%	2%
2. Observe Jewish religious practices..	46	48	6
3. Have faith in God.....	71	12	17
4. Live in accordance with Jewish ethical standards.....	80	10	10
5. Observe the Sabbath.....	35	42	23
6. Keep <u>kashruth</u>	31	25	44
7. Speak Hebrew.....	67	25	8
8. Speak Yiddish.....	23	46	31
9. Live in Israel.....	6	15	79
10. Donate money to Israel.....	48	37	15

*N=52

with Jewish standards as most important to them for their children's future (83, 71 and 80 percent, respectively). Speaking Hebrew also drew strong support (67 percent). Observance of the practices, Sabbath and kashruth laws drew more lukewarm support, being rated "important" by 46, 35 and 31 percent of the parents, respectively. Speaking Yiddish was considered important by only 23 percent of Ramah parents. With respect to Israel, here, too, many more parents favored donating money (48 percent) than actually living there (6 percent).

Herzlia Academy. There was unanimous support among Herzlia parents (see Table 18, below) on four items: taking part in religious practices, faith in God, abiding by Jewish ethical standards, and financial support for

Table 18
Importance of Children's Future Fulfillment of Jewish Values
as Rated by Herzlia Academy Parents

Item	Percentage of Parents Rating Item . . .		
	Important	Neutral	Not Important
1. Know how to take part in Jewish religious practice.....	100%*	0%	0%
2. Observe Jewish religious practices.....	60	20	20
3. Have faith in God.....	100	0	0
4. Live in accordance with Jewish ethical standards.....	100	0	0
5. Observe the Sabbath.....	20	80	0
6. Keep <u>kashruth</u>	60	40	0
7. Speak Hebrew.....	80	20	0
8. Speak Yiddish.....	0	60	40
9. Live in Israel.....	60	0	40
10. Donate money to Israel.....	100	0	0

*N=5

Israel. While Speaking Hebrew was important to 80 percent of these parents, none felt that speaking Yiddish was so important. Observing the kashruth laws was considered to be important by 60 percent of Herzlia parents, however, interestingly, only one parent (20 percent) felt it was very important that the child observe the Sabbath when he grows up. Sixty percent of these parents felt that it was very important that their child one day live in Israel, although the remainder thought that this was not important at all, or had no opinion on the matter.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING PARENTS' EXPECTATIONS OF JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS

Expectations of Talmud Torah Parents

Parents of children in the Talmud Torah school expected their children to grow up Conservative Jews. However, they expected that the school provide all religious subjects, with an orientation between Orthodox and Conservative Judaism, slightly closer to Orthodoxy.

Talmud Torah parents expected their children to be able to speak Hebrew upon completing school, with Hebrew classes being conducted in Hebrew about 70 percent of the time. Parents expected a full Hebrew program, with some translation, and a preference for modern Hebrew. These parents also expected their children to be able to read and speak Yiddish, although they felt that 70 percent or more of the Yiddish language studies could be conducted in English. Less emphasis was placed on the study of Yiddish literature, writing and grammar.

Talmud Torah parents expected their children to become Zionists in theory, but not in practice. Israeli history, current events and culture were considered highly important; Israeli geography less so. They expected

the school to educate their children to have a close relationship to Israel, though not necessarily to live there.

Expectations of Peretz School Parents

A majority of Peretz School parents expected their children to practice Conservative-type Judaism in the future. Jewish holiday traditions and practice and Jewish life were considered very important; Torah and Siddur study, less important. Study of the Prophets was also given less importance. The religious orientation expected to be espoused by the school could be described as somewhere between Conservative and Reform Judaism.

The Peretz School parents expected their children to speak Hebrew when they completed school, although they expected that Hebrew subjects be taught with English translation--50 percent of classroom time in Hebrew, 50 percent in English. Most of the Hebrew language subjects were considered important, although studying literature and Torah in Hebrew was hardly expected at all. Peretz School parents expected that some Yiddish be taught, and that their children be able to speak Yiddish when they finished school. Yiddish was often considered more important than was Hebrew. The parents wanted all Yiddish language subjects, but not Torah, to be taught in Yiddish.

The parents at the Peretz School expected their children to be Zionists in theory, but not in practice. All subjects relating to Israel were considered important, except for geography. The parents expected the school to educate their children towards a feeling of closeness with Israel, but not to live there in the future.

Expectations of Ramah School Parents

Parents of children at the Ramah School expected their children to practice Conservative Judaism later in life. They considered it very important that the school curriculum include studies of Jewish life, Torah, Jewish holiday traditions and practice. Siddur, prayer, Jewish laws and study of the Prophets were expected to a lesser extent. Apparently, the religious orientation preferred by most of these parents was between Conservative and Reform, with a tendency towards Conservative Judaism.

The Ramah parents expected that their children learn to speak Hebrew. Most preferred that at least 70 percent of the Hebrew classes be conducted in the Hebrew language, the remainder in English. These parents also expected that their children learn to speak some Yiddish in school, although felt that up to 50 percent of Yiddish studies could be conducted in English. All Yiddish subjects were important to these parents.

Ramah School parents expected their children to become Zionists in theory, but not in practice. They expected the school to educate their children toward some closeness with Israel, and that all subjects relating to Israel be taught, but did not hope that their children would live in Israel in the future.

Expectations of Herzlia Academy Parents

Taking cognizance of the fact that only five Herzlia Academy parents answered the questionnaires, their expectations nevertheless point quite clearly to the fact that they expected their children to practice an Orthodox way of life in the future. They considered all religious subjects important and wanted them taught with an Orthodox approach.

The Herzlia parents expected their children to speak Hebrew when they finished school, considering all of the Hebrew subjects extremely important. However, they felt that up to half of these classes could be conducted in English. Herzlia parents also expected their children to learn to speak some Yiddish, although Yiddish literature and grammar received less emphasis than reading, writing and conversation.

Following the pattern observed in the other schools, Herzlia School parents expected their children to be Zionists in theory, but not in practice. However, they expected that the school educate their children to have very close ties to Israel and expected all subjects relating to Israel to be taught.

Chapter 5

JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS IN WINNIPEG: BACKGROUND, POLICY AND PRACTICE

In order to find out what each of the Winnipeg Jewish Day Schools provided in terms of religious studies, language instruction and usage, and attitude towards Israel, three sources were examined: (1) the school's history and philosophy; (2) the curriculum, i.e., translation of philosophy into practice; and (3) the staff--executors of the philosophy and curriculum. Because of the strong involvement of parents, teachers and community members in the affairs of most Jewish Day Schools, it is possible that there are discrepancies among these aspects.

For the purpose of the present study, the principal, co-ordinator of the Jewish Studies program, and two teachers were interviewed in each school. All data was analyzed along the three abovementioned dimensions--religion, language, and relationship to Israel.

TALMUD TORAH

History and Philosophy

The Winnipeg Hebrew Free School, Talmud Torah, was formed in 1907. The school endeavored to provide an atmosphere which would appeal to children "by surrounding the Jewish holidays with . . . ceremony and appropriate decoration and acquaint them with age-long customs and cere-

monies."⁶⁰ The six-year elementary course was planned to make the student aware of his historical past. Emphasis was placed on reading and writing modern Hebrew, Biblical Hebrew, on selected passages from the Torah (Bible), Early Prophets, Biblical commentaries, Jewish history, and Hebrew grammar.

By April, 1917, the school had an enrollment of 675 pupils.⁶¹ In addition to the regular course of study, extra-curricular activities included Sabbath services conducted by the students with their own cantor and Torah reader. In 1923, as a concession to parental pressure, the study of Yiddish was added to the curriculum. This was a significant departure from the view long held by the school's administration, which considered Yiddish a ghetto language, with no place in a modern school curriculum. The decision may have been prompted by the increasing competition offered by the growth of Yiddish progressive schools during that period. Nevertheless, the Yiddish language program was discontinued after two years (although it was re-introduced in 1963, and has since been taught in certain grades on a twice-weekly basis). A report of the Board of Jewish Education, in 1928, described an extensive curriculum which emphasized Hebrew and religious studies.

In 1949, Rabbi Dr. Abraham S. Kravitz arrived in Winnipeg to assume the position of Chief Rabbi, principal of the Talmud Torah, and spiritual leader of its synagogue. He played a decisive role in the physical expansion of the school, and in the extension of Hebrew education to high school and university levels. Rabbi Kravitz attracted a group of volunteers who

⁶⁰Winnipeg Board of Jewish Education, Second Annual Report (1915).

⁶¹Harvey H. Herstein, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the evolution of its Educational Institutions" (Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964), pp. 61-88.

added a vitality which had been lacking for years. They instituted improved methods of instruction, elevated Hebrew to the position of a spoken language, and placed Hebrew at the heart of the school curriculum.⁶²

The aim of the Talmud Torah has not changed fundamentally since the early days. The new generation is perpetuating the goals set by the founders--a thorough foundation in the Bible and in Hebrew language.

The following objectives of Talmud Torah, presented in 1960, clearly indicate an Orthodox approach:

The goal of the Talmud Torah is to keep unbroken the golden chain of our ancient Jewish traditions; to keep alive in the heart and minds of our young people the ideals and aspirations of Judaism; imbue our youth with a positive attitude to Jewish values, and to make them feel justly proud of their noble origin and heritage. . . .by providing our students with a thorough education in history of our people (a history which tells the story of our unrelenting struggle for a better and finer world); providing them with a thorough background of the Hebrew language, and giving them a fine grounding in Chumash and Tanach (Biblical texts) [italics and translation not in the original]. Jewish history, language and Bible have been and will continue to be the three vital foundation stones of a sound Hebrew Education.

Our aim, however, is not solely confined to turning out students well-versed in Jewish lore. By creating an atmosphere and environment within the walls of our school, it is our hope that our students will leave . . . with a spirit of devotion--dedicated to God, to our people, and to the higher and nobler goals in life.

It is with this hope constantly before our minds that we approach and teach the religious precepts and practices of our forefathers with their tradition of worship and prayer.⁶³

In June, 1976, a Statement of School Philosophy was approved which

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Survey Committee of Jewish Education, A Study of Jewish Education in Winnipeg (Winnipeg: Jewish Welfare Fund of Winnipeg, 1963), pp. 22-23 (from a brief submitted by the Talmud Torah).

indicated a small change in the school's approach.⁶⁴ First of all, it stated that the secular education was equal in importance to the Jewish education. In addition, although it said that the school regarded Israel as important, it did not clearly align itself with religious Zionism. It also recognized English as one of the languages of instruction. Finally, this statement allowed for pluralistic streams of Judaism to be taught. The implications of this statement can be summarized as follows:

1. the school's philosophy is no longer strictly Orthodox;
2. the school is Zionist, but not clearly religious Zionist;
3. the Hebrew language is the main language, but modern Hebrew, not Biblical Hebrew, is stressed, and English as well as Hebrew are used as languages of instruction.

Curriculum

The most recent curriculum was published in 1977, and referred to course content for grades one to three only. Curriculum material presented here for grades four through six were provided orally by the principal.

Grade 1: --selection of daily prayers and blessings;
 --instruction about Sabbath and holidays;
 --discussion of weekly Torah portion;
 --basic Hebrew vocabulary (e.g., classroom items, clothing, parts of the body, animals, numbers, days of the week).

Grade 2: --some explanation of daily prayers, additional blessings;
 --further instruction about Sabbath and holidays;

⁶⁴Rabbi Dr. E. Appelbaum, Hebrew Curriculum Outlined (Winnipeg: Talmud Torah, 1977).

--Bible studies in Book of Genesis;
--conversational Hebrew, daily instruction with emphasis on creating sentences with students' existing vocabulary, interpretation of proverbs and their application in daily life, points of grammar (e.g., male-female designations, singular and plural, forming questions).

Grade 3: --expanded emphasis on daily prayers;
--additional focus on Sabbath and holidays;
--Bible instruction from the middle of the Book of Genesis, using concise Torah version;
(No details regarding the manner of Hebrew instruction were provided for the Grade 3 curriculum).

Grade 4: --study of prayers used in the synagogue;
--Bible study in the Book of Exodus;
--Hebrew literature and grammar in accordance with textbooks provided.

Grade 5: --study of Dinim (Jewish law);
--Bible study in the Book of Numbers;
--introduction of Prophets, with the Book of Judges;
--Hebrew literature and grammar in accordance with the textbooks provided.

Grade 6: --continuation of Dinim studied in Grade 5;
--Bible study in the Book of Deuteronomy;
--Prophets instruction in the Book of Samuel;
--advanced Hebrew using second half of Grade 5 textbooks.

Staff Interviews

The principal of Talmud Torah, the vice-principal, and two teachers (referred to here as teacher D. and teacher M.), each with more than three years experience in the school, were interviewed.

With respect to personal religious orientation, the principal and teacher D. placed themselves somewhere between Conservative and Orthodox Judaism. The vice-principal and teacher M. considered themselves Orthodox.

When asked to define the school in general terms, both the principal and teacher D. spoke of a dual goal--to produce good Canadian citizens and good Jews. The vice principal and teacher M. focused on the Jewish aspect, stating that the main goal of the school was to teach the students the Jewish traditions and language, and inculcate in them a love for Israel. All of the interviewees agreed that the school had an Orthodox orientation, but when asked about practice, there were some differences.

Teaching Torah. The vice-principal and teacher M. approved of teaching Bible stories with a focus on ethics and morals. The vice-principal and teacher D. approved of the use of the original text. The principal wanted the teachers to teach Torah without bringing in their own beliefs, but rather focusing on stated values, using traditional commentaries. Teacher D. used various commentaries--traditional, modern, Orthodox, and secular. Teacher M. used only traditional commentaries, with a strong Orthodox orientation.

Teaching Dinim. The principal stressed that teachers should not impose their personal opinions on the students, but should concentrate on teaching the development of the Jewish laws and their historic background. He recommended two textbooks, both written by Conservative rabbis. He commented, however, that these two rabbis were quite close to Orthodox views.

The vice-principal, on the other hand, while aware that many of the students were not Orthodox, asked that the teachers encourage the students to practice all of the laws in accordance with Orthodox practice. She advised the teachers to use only Orthodox textbooks. Teacher D. used, for the most part, traditional books, and teacher M. used an Orthodox textbook for teaching Jewish Law.

Language Usage. The principal considered Hebrew the main language of instruction in the Jewish Studies program, with the use of English permitted only when necessary. The vice-principal did not feel that Hebrew should be a barrier to discussing ideas, and therefore felt that in such instances English should be used. In practice, this meant that in the lower grades (one, two and three) English should be the main language, and from the fourth grade upward, Hebrew should be the primary language, except where English was necessary for explanation. Teacher D. used mostly Hebrew (up to 95 percent). Only when there was a complicated idea was English used. Teacher M. used English about 90 percent of the time, but hoped that by the middle of the school year this would be reduced to 75 percent English usage. She said that this policy was partly a result of school policy, and partly due to the fact that she was less than fluent in Hebrew herself.

Teaching literature in Hebrew was considered by both the principal and the vice-principal to be an aid to language improvement. Teacher D. chose stories which focused on morals and on love for Israel. She also used general writers (not necessarily Jewish) in Hebrew translation. Teacher M. did not teach general literature but used short stories with religious morals and with an Orthodox approach.

Attitude Towards Israel. Staff members were questioned regarding the type of literature they used in the study program concerning Israel, rather than about the types of attitudes they wished to inculcate in their students. Neither of the teachers mentioned a specific list of Israeli authors or books. Teacher D. mentioned that "one of the goals is a love of Israel, but also ethics." All of the interviewees did mention using Bialik.⁶⁵ All four staff members considered themselves religious Zionists and expressed strong positive feelings towards Israel. With regard to staff composition, both the principal and vice-principal thought that some of the teachers should be Israeli. The principal suggested that one third of the staff be Israeli, and the vice-principal felt that two or three Israeli teachers would suffice. Both believed that most of the teachers should be local residents, a policy which may have contributed to the non-usage of Hebrew as the main language in the lower grades, due to poor Hebrew proficiency on the part of these teachers.

It seems apparent that the Talmud Torah offered a curriculum with an Orthodox orientation, stressing Jewish Law, prayers, study of the Torah, and Hebrew language. These findings are summarized on Table 19 (see page 115).

PERETZ SCHOOL

History and Philosophy

In 1910, the Furband, Jewish National Workers' Alliance, a fraternal organization of the Zionist Workers' Movement, adopted a resolution to found Yiddish schools which would focus on teaching Yiddish language and literature, as well as Hebrew language and literature, and Jewish history. These

⁶⁵Chaim Nachman Bialik, the "National Poet" of Israel.

schools were not to be religious schools, because the Furband catered to the Jewish working masses who were non-religious or anti-religious. Its members were, however, secular Zionists and, to some extent, socialists. The schools were called Jewish National Radical Schools, and in 1911 the first school of this kind in Canada was founded in Montreal. On May 18, 1914, the first Yiddish school in Winnipeg opened with 17 children. The following year, the school was renamed the I. L. Peretz School, after the classical Yiddish writer who died that year.

In 1916, a progress report outlined the curriculum of the school. The core subjects were Yiddish writing, reading, composition, literature, and Jewish history. Students were also taught the Hebrew words frequently used in Yiddish (which has Hebrew derivations). That same year, the study of Hebrew language was introduced. An important part of the curriculum was folk dancing and the singing of Yiddish folk songs. The school attempted to inject an idealism perhaps not found in the public school, in which history and literature were to impart a cultural Jewish background.

In the 1929-30 school year, the Peretz School had the highest enrollment in its history, with 294 students. This growth was interrupted when a rift occurred within the Peretz School. Two teachers, one a former principal, withdrew and started a school of their own, the Folk School. The ideological disagreement was outlined in an article by I. Sapiro,⁶⁶ the former principal, who stressed that the Jewish nation had two languages, Yiddish--the language of the masses--and Hebrew--the revived language of the renewed settlements in Palestine. Hebrew, he maintained, was destined

⁶⁶I. Sapiro, "What Does the Yiddish Folk School Want?" The Israelite Press, August 8, 1930.

to become the language of the Jews in the future. He complained that the Hebrew instruction at the Peretz school was perfunctory and the attitude toward Hebrew there was a negative one. In the Folk School, on the other hand, Yiddish was to be the language of instruction, but equal time would be given to Hebrew. It would be taught with the intention that students would not only be fluent in the language, but would also acquaint themselves with the important works, old and new, of Hebrew literature. The new school was to be a progressive Yiddish school, teaching the love of all Jewish cultural treasures in Yiddish and Hebrew, the love of Palestine, and devotion to the ideals of chalutzic (pioneering) Zionism.

Many difficulties, predominantly financial ones, caused the two factions to re-unite in 1944 under the name of I. L. Peretz Folk School. The school's basic curriculum then included Yiddish grammar and literature, Hebrew, cultural history (from third grade), Jewish history (from fourth grade), and singing. Only the high school curriculum included the study of the Prophets and the Bible, in Yiddish and Hebrew.

In 1960, there grew an awareness for a need to relocate the school and to adopt a new curriculum. An excerpt from the proposed curriculum states:

The Peretz Folk School has had from its beginning the motto "The Jewish Child for the Jewish People," and the program of the school has been an attempt at the realization of this motto. The curriculum of the school is designed for fourteen years of study: two years of kindergarten, seven years of elementary schooling, three years of Mittle Shul, and two years of higher courses.⁶⁷

The program was to include Yiddish, Hebrew, Bible, Jewish history,

⁶⁷ Educational Committee of the Peretz Folk School, "Peretz School Memorandum," The Israelite Press, September 2, 1960.

Israeli studies, Jewish music, prayers, current events related to World Jewry, and Jewish holidays. It was to be essentially a non-religious school that provided weltlich education--secular universal education. Under pressure to change, however, it introduced Hebrew and religious elements, even Bar Mitzvah preparation classes.

The changes constituted a deviation from and an abrogation of the fundamental weltlichkeit (universalism) that characterized the school in its earlier years.⁶⁸ Some, however, interpreted this trend not as a contradiction, but as a confirmation of weltlichkeit; that is, the school was not seen as a static machine, but as a living institution which influenced the community and was, in turn, influenced by the community. To be cognizant of the changes within the community could be considered an expression of weltlichkeit.

Since 1977, an Orthodox Israeli teacher has acted as co-ordinator of the Jewish Studies program, in lieu of a principal. Since then, it seems, the school has gravitated toward a more Zionistic position, exemplified by the fact that an intensified Hebrew program has been adopted. Current policy considers the establishment of Israel, its development, its growth and its important role in the life of the Jewish people in the world an important aspect of the educational program.

Curriculum

The curriculum for the Jewish Studies program at the Peretz School is written entirely in Yiddish (including the section which discusses the Hebrew program). Its course of study includes a broad range of topics.

⁶⁸H. H. Herstein, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the Evolution of its Educational Institutions (Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964), p. 120."

- Grade 1: --Yiddish language, general verbs and nouns, reading;
 --Jewish holidays;
 --basic Hebrew vocabulary (in last third of the year).
- Grade 2: --four weekly hours of Yiddish, increasing vocabulary,
 short sentences, reading short texts;
 --three weekly hours of Hebrew, suggested teaching using
 all-Hebrew language instruction; comprehension of short
 sentences and rudimentary conversational Hebrew;
 --Torah studied three hours per week, including stories
 about the patriarchs, using a concise text of the Torah.
- Grade 3: --Yiddish is taught for four hours per week, covering
 short essays, the use of Hebrew words in Yiddish, idioms,
 proverbs and short stories;
 --Hebrew, taught in Hebrew only, increasing vocabulary,
 discussions, ability to answer informative questions
 (e.g. What is your name? Where do you live?);
 --two hours per week of Torah, covering the first two-
 thirds of the Book of Genesis, using a concise version
 in modern, not Biblical Hebrew;
 --Prophets are studied, using the Books of Joshua and
 Judges, using concise version with Yiddish translation;
 --free discussion for one hour per week, in which each
 student discusses a subject, with teacher's aid, for
 10-15 minutes in Hebrew, English, or Yiddish; --once a
 week the teacher tells a story, or with approach of holi-
 days, teacher discusses them with students;

--free writing for one hour per week, focusing on techniques of essay writing.

Grade 4: --three hours weekly of Yiddish, including prose and poetry, as well as essays ;
 --three hours weekly of Hebrew, including selections from American and Jewish poets and authors ;
 --Torah, two weekly hours, using concise version in modern Hebrew; Genesis is completed, using Rashi (traditional Orthodox) commentary ;
 --Prophets study with Book of Joshua completed ;
 --prayer study covering selections from morning and Sabbath services; one hour weekly ;
 --free discussion, half hour weekly; free essay writing, one hour weekly; free reading for one hour per week using Amil and Karl text.

Grade 5: --Yiddish instruction for two and one half hours weekly, for improvement of grammar and study of Yiddish literature ;
 --Hebrew study for two and one half hours weekly, broaden vocabulary and language practice;
 --Torah study with the Book of Exodus, using Rashi and Biblical legends from Bialik's Anthology;
 --Prophets studied from Book of Judges with Yiddish translation;
 --two weekly hours of Jewish history, covering Biblical times to the 17th century, geography and religion of Israel;

- one hour of Jewish social studies, including Jewish current events, traditions and holidays;
- Siddur (prayer book), additional prayers studied, one hour per week;
- free discussion for one half hour per week.

- Grade 6:
- Yiddish studied for two and one half hours weekly, focus on Yiddish literature;
 - Hebrew studied for two and one half hours weekly, literature selected from the Book of Deuteronomy, poetry and prose;
 - Torah, continuing in the text Torah for Beginners, Part 2, with selections from the last three books of the Torah, using Rashi commentary;
 - Prophets studied with Book of Samuel;
 - geography of Israel, continued from Grade 5 curriculum for one hour weekly;
 - social studies include discussions regarding history of Zionism, Jewish current events;
 - Additional prayers are introduced in Siddur study, as well as ethical proverbs from Pirke Avoth (Ethics of the Fathers).

The curriculum integrates a variety of approaches. On the one hand, the vocabulary, especially in the lower grades, is based on holidays, with each grade having a co-ordinated Siddur study program; and the holidays are taught extensively--indicating a Conservative-Orthodox approach. However, Torah and Navi (Prophets) are taught as they would be in a Reform school

(see Chapter 2). With respect to attitudes toward Israel, only from Grade 5 are regular Israeli studies taught. In Grade 4 the literature curriculum suggested selected American and Jewish national writers, but did not specify Israeli writers. The fifth grade social studies curriculum suggested general discussions of Jewish tradition, while the sixth grade discussions were to deal with Zionist and Jewish world events, not solely focused on Israel. The curriculum was not anti-Zionist, but was not fully Zionist.

Staff Interviews

The principal, coordinator of Jewish Studies department, and two teachers (teacher L. and teacher R.), both of whom had been at the school for more than three years, were interviewed.

Teaching religion. All four staff members mentioned the fact that the school is a secular, Yiddishist institution. However, teacher R. said that she taught Torah, Dinim (Jewish Law) and holidays in accordance with her own Orthodox orientation. Teacher L. also followed guidelines according to Orthodox ideas. The co-ordinator was very careful with his wording, but he, too, spoke of teaching religious subjects along the lines of Orthodox philosophy. The principal was the only one who consistently mentioned the secular philosophy which should govern teaching policy.

Language Usage. Although those interviewed mentioned the importance of both Yiddish and Hebrew, they stated that Yiddish had priority, with Yiddish being taught about 40 percent of the time. Moreover, the co-ordinator pointed out that when Yiddish was taught, the language was spoken continuously. Teacher L. stated that when she taught Hebrew, she used English about 40 percent of the time. Teacher R. taught both languages,

using about 15 percent English when teaching Yiddish and about 30 percent English when teaching Hebrew. The authors whose works were taught were mainly Yiddish writers, but Israelis such as Bialik were also included. Teacher L. taught only Israeli authors, and the coordinator taught only Yiddish authors.

Attitude Towards Israel. The principal, speaking of hiring teachers, mentioned the strong ties which the school had towards Israel; he preferred a teacher with strong ties to Israel. However, he preferred a teacher who had made Canada his/her home rather than an Israeli shaliach. All those interviewed stressed the importance of teaching Israeli current events to strengthen ties with Israel. Teacher R. was the only one who selected only "nice" events about Israel, due to parental requests to omit mention of bloodshed and terrorist attacks. The principal and teacher L. defined themselves as secular Zionists, while the coordinator and teacher R. considered themselves Orthodox, with a religious Zionist orientation.

A summary of the information garnered regarding the Peretz School is presented in Table 19 (see page 115).

RAMAH SCHOOL

History and Philosophy

In 1915, the Sharrey Zedek Congregation of Winnipeg began to conduct Sunday morning Bible classes for the children of its members.⁶⁹ These classes developed rapidly and by 1918 there were 150 children in the

⁶⁹ H. H. Herstein, "The Growth of the Winnipeg Jewish Community and the Evolution of its Educational Institutions (Thesis, University of Manitoba, 1964).

school. Bible and Jewish history were taught in English by ten volunteer teachers.⁷⁰ In subsequent years, the enrollment increased so dramatically that the Sunday school could no longer depend on volunteer teaching. Teachers were paid and the curriculum was broadened to include Confirmation preparation.

When, in 1950, a new synagogue building was completed, an evening school was established with classes held three times a week. The Sunday school was also continued for a while. The synagogue classes embraced the Hebrew language as the key to Jewish studies and a link with a revived Israel. The Jewish culture program also included the study of religious customs and ceremonies, social and communal responsibilities--the inculcation of a sense of identification with World Jewry--as well as identification with Canadian citizenry.

Increased enrollment led to the construction of a new school building. It was decided that the new building would house an expanded five-day evening school and a day school, if enough students enrolled. It was also decided to add the study of Yiddish as an elective course.⁷¹ In 1959 the day school had two grades. Hebrew was taught in Hebrew only, and Israeli teachers were employed to afford the opportunity for conversational Hebrew to be mastered. By 1963 the school had a nursery school, a kindergarten, an evening school and a six-grade day school.

In 1963, The Shaarey Zedek Religious School and the Herzlia Academy merged and formed the Ramah School.⁷² However, this merger lasted only one

⁷⁰The Israelite Press, June 27, 1918.

⁷¹The Israelite Press, March 11, 1955.

⁷²Survey Committee of Jewish Education, A Study of Jewish Education in Winnipeg (Winnipeg: Jewish Welfare Fund of Winnipeg, 1963), p. 25.

year, when, in August, 1964, it was disbanded due to disharmony among the administrators.⁷³ The Orthodox-oriented Herzlia administration left, but most of the students continued in the Ramah School, which remained a division of the Sharrey Zedek Synagogue.

The Board of Directors of the reorganized Ramah School released the following statement, which remains the official statement of school philosophy:

Ramah Hebrew School is committed to the concept that all Jewish children must know their 'roots.' They must have available the best possible educational experience which will enable them to identify with their heritage, to develop an emotional attachment to Judaism, and a familiarity with its observances, rituals, and ethics. Their secular education must be of equally high quality so that they may find their rightful place in the Canadian cultural mosaic. They must be put in touch with our ancient tradition of Torah study, as well as to become aware of, and familiar with, the great body of Jewish writings, both religious and secular, which are so much a part of our culture. As we look to Israel as the spiritual and cultural centre of the Jewish people, Ramah Hebrew School also seeks to develop in its students a commitment to Israel.

. . . the education should be based on the probability of most remaining in North America and following secular careers. . . fitted for living a meaningful Jewish life in an English speaking and predominantly non-Jewish environment. . . learn to live proudly as Jews in Canada. . .

. . . Ramah is traditional in its approach. All school sponsored activities are in conformity with the religious laws with regard to Shabbat, Yom-Tovim and kashruth (Sabbath, holidays and dietary laws)[translation and italics not in the original]. All members of staff, irrespective of private beliefs and practices, are expected to display a respect for, and appreciation of, traditional religious practices. Simultaneously, attitudes of acceptance to the pluralistic streams within Jewry must also be demonstrated.

. . . . The two official languages of instruction will be English and Hebrew. . . .

Ramah Hebrew School recognizes that it lays an all important foundation in its elementary school program. But much of this may be wasted and lost if Jewish education is not continued and furthered during adolescence, and into secondary and advanced

⁷³The Israelite Press, August, 1964.

levels. . . . Therefore, we encourage our students to pursue further Jewish education following graduation from Ramah Hebrew School.⁷⁴

This statement states clearly the school's affiliation with the Sharrey Zedek Synagogue, a Conservative synagogue. It implies in its philosophy many Conservative ideas, along with some Reform ideology (see Chapter 2). Hebrew is the language of instruction in the Judaic Studies program. Yiddish is mentioned, nostalgically, and close, strong ties with Israel is favored. With respect to Israel, Ramah is secular Zionist.

Curriculum

Grade 1: --knowledge of terms related to Jewish holidays, holiday songs, appropriate arts and crafts projects;
 --selection of three prayers from the morning service;
 --stories from books of Genesis and Exodus;
 --Hebrew taught using Hebrew language only, acquisition of reading and writing skills.

Grade 2: --teaching of holidays using appropriate texts, some of which were prepared by staff members, using modern and traditional sources;
 --two additional prayers, blessings for food;
 --more Torah stories;
 --Dinim (laws) related to holidays and prayers;
 --Hebrew taught in Hebrew only, reading and writing skills, sentences, short essays.

Grade 3: --teaching of holidays using appropriate texts with traditional and modern sources;

⁷⁴Herstein, op. cit.

- additional prayers learned;
- Torah learned from concise texts;
- Dinim relating to holidays and prayers;
- Hebrew (in Hebrew only), stress on grammar;
- Israeli history and geography, with emphasis on stories about persons, events and places in Israel.

- Grade 4:
- teaching of holidays using appropriate texts with traditional and modern sources;
 - additional prayers taught;
 - Torah learned from concise texts;
 - Dinim relating to holidays and prayers;
 - Hebrew (in Hebrew only), stress on grammar;
 - study of Israel from material organized by teacher, taking "trip" to Israel to familiarize students with its geography (major areas and important cities); Israeli national anthem, flag, history of some settlements, major figures in Israeli history (eg., Herzl, Ben Gurion)

- Grade 5:
- holidays taught using appropriate texts with traditional and modern sources;
 - additional prayers learned;
 - Torah learned from concise texts;
 - Prophets learned from Books of Joshua and Judges;
 - Dinim relating to holidays only;
 - Hebrew (in Hebrew only), stress on grammar and literature in depth;

- history text covering period from the First Temple to the destruction of the Second Temple ;
- current Jewish history, from the Israeli War of Independence (1948) to the Yom Kippur War (1973), and discussions of religious aspects of Israel .

- Grade 6:
- holidays taught using appropriate texts with traditional and modern sources;
 - additional prayers are learned, by this time most of the prayers will have been taught;
 - Torah learned from concise texts;
 - Dinim relating to holidays only ;
 - Hebrew (in Hebrew only);
 - history covering the period "From Destruction to Statehood" with geography of Israeli including more details .

Thus, it appears that the curriculum of Ramah School is linked closely to the Conservative Jewish approach in its religious ideas, with a slight tendency towards Reform Judaism. Modern Hebrew is stressed, and the relationship towards Israel could be labeled secular Zionism.

Staff Interviews

The principal, vice-principal in charge of the Jewish Studies program and two teachers, one from the lower grades (teacher B.) and one from the upper grades (teacher S.) were interviewed. Both teachers had taught for more than three years at the school.

Teaching religion. The interviewees were not clear about the religious orientation which they were supposed to be teaching. The vice-

principal said that there was no clear definition as to what kind of religious orientation the school was supposed to teach. Teacher B. said that "It should be a Conservative form," and teacher S. mentioned that "it is supposed to be part of the Solomon Schechter Organization," (an association of Conservative day schools). The vice principal recommended that teachers prepare lessons from books ranging from Orthodox to secular, while teacher B. used mostly Orthodox sources and teacher S. used exclusively Orthodox texts.

With respect to Dinim, the vice-principal suggested teaching actual religious practices in the lower grades, and ideas in the upper grades. He also suggested a combination of traditional and modern sources for teachers' preparation, including Conservative and Reform points of view. Both teachers used Orthodox Dinim texts. The principal and vice-principal agreed that it was not wise to encourage students to observe Jewish laws at home, because this could lead to conflict with non-observant parents. Teacher S. encouraged his students to be observant, and teacher B. was also encouraging, though expressed more awareness of the consequences. The principal's general view was that students should know Jewish history, Jewish tradition and the "why" and "how" of Jewish behavior. The goals of Torah and Dinim instruction were closer to Reform than to Conservative Judaism, however, the staff's personal practice was closer to Orthodoxy, with strong ties to Conservative Judaism.

Language Usage. All of the interviewees except teacher S. felt that Hebrew should be used in the Jewish Studies program more than 80 percent of the time. Teacher B. used Hebrew 60 percent of the time, but finalized all material in Hebrew. Yiddish was taught only in Grades 5 and 6

for twenty minutes weekly. It had previously been taught to Grade 4 as well, but there was no teacher available, and "nobody minded," so this was deleted.

Attitude Towards Israel. The principal and teacher B. identified themselves as secular Zionists; the vice-principal and teacher S. considered themselves religious Zionists. Only the vice-principal related her teaching to her own Zionist ideas. All interviewees said they taught Israeli current events, but also other news of Jewish interest.

Both the principal and the vice-principal preferred local teachers, but thought that an Israeli shaliach as a teacher would add "flavour."

A summary of the teaching policy and practice at the Ramah School is presented in Table 19 (see page 115).

HERZLIA ACADEMY

History and Philosophy

The growth of the Jewish population in the River Heights section of Winnipeg was primarily due to the influx of North End Jews who moved there. These newcomers, many of whom attended Jewish schools as children, wanted a Jewish education for their children. In 1949 a branch of the Talmud Torah opened in River Heights with 165 pupils.⁷⁵ Other parents, who favored a progressive Yiddish education, started a local branch of the Peretz School in 1953. Under pressure from the larger Talmud Torah group in the district, a merger of the two schools took place, and in 1954 the Herzlia Academy was established out of this merger. Soon the Peretz School-oriented curriculum was replaced with a program from the Talmud Torah, and Yiddish was relegated

⁷⁵The Israelite Press, May, 17, 1949.

to second place. Many parents complained that it was not a merger, but a takeover.

Shaarey Zedek, a Conservative congregation in the South End area, believing that it was qualified to provide the educational needs of all South End Jews, invited Herzlia Academy to use its facilities. The Jewish Welfare Fund backed the Shaarey Zedek plan, because it was feared that the burden of building a new home for the school would be too much for the local community. Parents of Herzlia Academy, however, indicated that these fears were groundless, and also felt that Shaarey Zedek's program did not suit Herzlia members, who wanted an Orthodox-oriented religious curriculum. Herzlia Academy insisted that it did not want to be under the control of Shaarey Zedek. It wanted the program to have a religious, national character with a standard Hebrew curriculum which would include some Yiddish.⁷⁶ It was planned that the evening school would meet five days a week, and that there would be a day school, beginning with first grade and ultimately having seven grades. A synagogue would be built in the school building⁷⁷ with a hall for religious, educational and cultural activities. The inclusion of the of the synagogue in its plans indicated that the Herzlia supporters were establishing a congregation of their own in the South End, and were not satisfied with what Shaarey Zedek had to offer. The plans were executed and the new school opened in September, 1955 with a course of study including Hebrew language, prayers, Jewish customs, laws and history, Bible study and Yiddish, as well as a Bar Mitzvah preparation course and a junior congregation. In 1957, Herzlia Academy affiliated itself with the Talmud Torah as

⁷⁶The Israelite Press, March 18, 1955.

⁷⁷To be called the Adas Yeshurin Congregation.

a branch school.

By 1963, Herzlia Academy included a day school with six grades, a nursery school and kindergarten, and a six-grade evening school, with 188 pupils. The school became the focal point of the Adas Yeshurin Congregation, and many synagogue activities were centered around it.

In September, 1963, Herzlia Academy and the Shaarey Zedek Religious School entered into a merger and formed the Ramah School, however the new school maintained a Conservative orientation and the Orthodox parents from the South End, supported by some in the North End, broke away with the intention of re-opening the school in its old form (for discussion of the merger, see pp. 104-5).

In the 1979-80 school year, Herzlia Academy was opened again. The basis for the renewed institution was from the constitution of the Adas Yeshurin synagogue's constitution, which stated:

The aims and objects of the organization shall be to establish and maintain a school for the education and instruction of members, their children and adherents, and, without limiting the generality of the foregoing, with particular reference to the education and instruction in the Jewish language and religion.

The newly hired rabbi and principle, Rabbi Bryks, demanded that the re-establishment of the school be on the basis of a strictly Orthodox approach, and this request was granted. The school opened in September, 1979, with a nursery and kindergarten, under the affiliation of the Torah Umesorah, the organization of Orthodox Jewish Day Schools in North America. The intention was to eventually develop an institution which would encompass grades from nursery through high school.

Curriculum

At the time of the current research, the school had not yet

developed an official curriculum. However, the intentions regarding the future curriculum were expressed by the principal in the interview, presented below.

Staff Interview

Since there was, at the time of the current study, only a nursery and kindergarten, only the principal was interviewed. His answers reflected the implementation of school policy insofar as it was effected in the pre-school classes, as well as intentions for the future curriculum and practice.

The principal defined the school's main goal as "instilling in the students a love for God and a love for Judaism." The school's orientation was Orthodox, the main language Hebrew, and Bible studies would be stressed. He believed that children must be helped to understand what God expects from them.

The principal insisted that the school offer a comprehensive Dinim (Jewish Law) program. The teachers would follow a text, and before every holiday the teachers should teach the holiday laws to each class on its own level. The school also stressed everyday Dinim, such as morning prayers and Grace before and after meals. The children were encouraged to practice Jewish Law at home, and to involve their parents in the observances. In order to avoid potential conflict between the school and the home, the parents were invited to the school once every two months to be informed of the meaning of laws being taught, and which laws would be taught in the coming two months. Pupils were rewarded for observing Jewish laws at home.

Books recommended for teachers' preparation of Torah classes would include traditional and modern sources with an Orthodox spirit. The principal warned that any teacher expressing the attitude that the Torah was an

outdated or irrelevant book would not be tolerated in the school.

Only modern Hebrew was to be used in the classroom. Jewish literature would be taught with an emphasis on Jewish content and lifestyle, rather than simply by virtue of a Jewish author. The recommendations of Torah Umesorah regarding literature would be adopted.

Events which happened to the Jewish people in the past, as well as current events, would be stressed. Current Israeli events chosen for discussion would have a religious dimension, and it would be the teacher's job to relate every event in terms of the Torah.

The principal considered Israel the Jewish homeland and hoped to instill a great love for Israel in his pupils. He himself was an Orthodox Jew and expressed a love for Israel, however refused to label himself a Zionist or non-Zionist because of the religious and political connotations he felt were involved.

Only Orthodox teachers would be hired, with the principal preferring American or Canadian teachers to Israelis, because he felt that local staff would be better able to relate to the students, to understand them better, and would be more familiar with local culture.

In conclusion, Herzlia Academy is a strictly Orthodox school. The teaching material and future curriculum (as expressed in the interview) is of a strictly Orthodox orientation (as presented in Chapter 2). Modern Hebrew is the main language of instruction in the Jewish Studies program. The policy and practice at the Herzlia Academy are presented, alongside those of the other schools under inquiry in the present research, in Table 19.

Table 19

Summary of Religious Policy and Practice of Winnipeg Jewish Day Schools

Focus of Jewish Studies Program and Source of Information	Talmud Torah	Peretz School	Ramah School	Herzlia Academy
<u>Religious Orientation</u>				
1. School history and philosophy	Orthodox	secular	Conservative	Orthodox
2. School curriculum	Orthodox	Reform/Conservative	Conservative (tendency to Reform)	
3. Staff interviews	partly Orthodox partly Conservative	close to Orthodox	Conservative (tendency to Orthodox)	Orthodox
<u>Language Instruction and Usage</u>				
1. School history and philosophy	strong emphasis on Hebrew minimal Yiddish	Yiddish main language Hebrew almost of equal importance	modern Hebrew some Yiddish (for nostalgia)	modern Hebrew no Yiddish
2. School curriculum	Hebrew & English in lower grades, mainly Hebrew in upper grades	Yiddish main language Hebrew second (modern)	modern Hebrew no Yiddish	
3. Staff interviews	Hebrew & English in lower grades, mainly Hebrew in upper grades minimal Yiddish	Yiddish main language Hebrew second (modern)	modern Hebrew (maybe minimal Yiddish)	modern Hebrew and English
<u>Attitude Towards Israel</u>				
1. School history and philosophy	was religious Zionist now secular Zionist	was non-Zionist now secular Zionist	secular Zionist	Zionist
2. School curriculum	Zionist	secular Zionist	secular Zionist	Zionist
3. Staff interviews	Zionist	mostly Zionist	secular Zionist	Zionist

Chapter 6

COMPARISON OF PARENTAL EXPECTATIONS WITH WINNIPEG JEWISH DAY SCHOOLS'
POLICY AND PRACTICE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of the present study was to compare parents' expectations regarding the Jewish education provided by the Winnipeg Jewish Day Schools with that actually offered by these schools.

A parent questionnaire was developed and responses received from parents of children in the first, third and sixth grades in three of the Jewish Day Schools in Winnipeg, and from the parents of kindergartners in the final school (Herzlia Academy). The questionnaire was designed to elicit information regarding parents' personal religious orientation, Jewish education, and expectations with respect to the Jewish subjects taught in the schools, and the impact they wished this Jewish education to have on their children in the future. The questions were related to three major aspects of Jewish education: religion, language, and attitude towards Israel.

In addition, the history and philosophy of each school were examined, as well as their official curricula, and administrators and teachers interviewed. The investigation of school policy and practice was also focused upon the three elements of Jewish education stated above.

The findings for each school are presented separately.

Talmud Torah

Religion. According to its curriculum and policy, Talmud Torah was to provide an Orthodox program. However, the interviews indicated that, in practice, the Jewish Studies program was a combination of Orthodox and

Conservative approaches. Parents at Talmud Torah expected the school to provide Conservative studies with a tendency toward Orthodoxy. Table 2 (p.24) depicts these differences. Thus, while school policy did not fulfill parental expectations, the school did so in practice.

Language. The main language taught in the Jewish Studies program at Talmud Torah was Hebrew. Yiddish was offered minimally. In the lower grade Hebrew classes a high proportion of English was used, while in the upper classes there was little use of English. Most parents expected the school to offer Yiddish as a second language. Therefore, with respect to language usage and instruction there were some differences between parental expectations and what the school provided in practice. Less Hebrew was used in the lower classes, and more in the upper ones than parents preferred. Also, parents in all grades expected more Yiddish than the school provided.

Attitude Towards Israel. Talmud Torah provided a Zionist program which was meant to inculcate in the students a close relationship to Israel in both theory and practice. The school offered Israeli studies, including geography, culture, and current events. Parents at the Talmud Torah wanted a Zionist approach offered, however, they expected this in theory alone, and not in practice. Thus, the overall expectations of the parents, and the viewpoint of the school were close, however there was some difference in emphasis, i.e., Zionism in theory vs. Zionism in practice.

Peretz School

Religion. According to school policy, the Peretz School should have provided a secular Jewish Studies program, while its curriculum indicated a program with aspects of Reform and Conservative Judaism. In practice,

however, the school offered a program with an Orthodox-oriented program of religious studies. The parents expected the school to provide a program somewhere between Reform and Conservative Judaism. Therefore, although the parents' expectations were close to what the school's curriculum suggested, this was neither the stated school policy, nor its practice.

Language. The Peretz School taught Yiddish as the main language of instruction in the Jewish Studies program, and Hebrew was provided as a second language. The parents' language expectations correlated with what the school provided.

Attitude Towards Israel. The Peretz School provided a Zionist-oriented program, including all Israeli subjects. Parents expected their children to be Zionist in theory, but not in practice, and expected that all Israeli subjects would be taught. Thus, parental expectations of the school regarding the Israeli study program were close to what the school actually provided.

Ramah School

Religion. In its policy, the Ramah School was meant to offer a Conservative program with a tendency toward Reform. In practice, however, the school provided a Conservative program with a tendency toward Orthodoxy. The parents at the Ramah School expected the school to offer a Conservative program with a tendency toward Reform. Therefore, the parents' expectations corresponded with the policy and curriculum of the school, but not with the school's orientation as implemented by the staff.

Language. The Ramah School provided a very solid Hebrew program in all grades. Yiddish instruction was minimal. The school's parents expected a strong Hebrew program with little use of English, and they expected the

school to provide Yiddish as a second language in the Jewish Studies program. The school actually provided somewhat more Hebrew, and much less Yiddish than parents expected.

Attitude Towards Israel. Ramah School provided a strong Zionist program including Israeli geography, culture, current events, and a strong emphasis on Israeli literature. The school attempted to educate its students toward very strong positive feelings concerning Israel. Parents expected the teachers to provide a strong Zionist program and considered it very important that the school provide all subjects relating to Israel. The Ramah School, therefore, provided the Zionist program desired by the parents, but with greater emphasis on a close relationship towards Israel than the parents expected.

Herzlia Academy

Religion. The Herzlia Academy offered an Orthodox program. The school's parents expected an Orthodox program, but with a slight tendency toward Conservative Judaism. It seems, therefore, that the Orthodox program offered at Herzlia Academy was slightly more strict than what the parents expected.

Language. Hebrew was the main language of instruction in the Jewish Studies program at Herzlia Academy. Mostly modern, but some Biblical Hebrew was used. Herzlia parents expected Hebrew to be the main language of instruction, but also expected that an equal amount of English be used. Parents' expectations with regard to language instruction and usage corresponded to what the school offered, and proposed to offer in the future (since at the time of this study there was only a pre-school level).

Attitude Towards Israel. The policy of Herzlia Academy with respect

to Israel was not clearly stated. It appeared that the school intended to instill in the pupils a feeling of closeness toward Israel, with a strong emphasis on the religious aspects of Israel-related topics. Herzlia Academy parents expected the school to educate their children to have very positive feelings towards Israel, and they expected the children to become Zionists in theory, but not in practice. Thus, the parents' expectations with respect to Israel were met by the school.

Conclusions

The major findings of this study may be summarized, and conclusions drawn as follows:

1. In all of the schools there were some differences between parents' expectations and what the schools provided.
 - A. At Talmud Torah, religious studies and attitude toward Israel as provided by the school were close to parental expectations. With respect to language, the school provided less Hebrew in the lower grades, and more Hebrew in the upper grades than parents expected. Less Yiddish was offered than parents wanted.
 - B. Parents' expectations of the Peretz School were basically met in the areas of language and Israeli studies. With regard to religion, parental expectations were close to the policy as expressed in the curriculum, but differed from the school's expressed philosophy and practice.
 - C. Ramah School parents' expectations differed in most areas from what the school provided. While with regard to religious orientation the parents' expectations were close to what the curriculum dictated, but not what was practiced, with respect

to Israel the school offered what parents expect in subject matter, but not in emphasis. As regards language, Ramah School offered somewhat more Hebrew and much less Yiddish than parents expected.

D. Most of the Herzlia Academy parents' expectations were fulfilled by the school. The only difference between parental expectations and what the school offered was regarding religious orientation, where it appears that the parents preferred a somewhat less Orthodox approach than what was given.

2. The schools' policies often stressed approaches to Jewish which differed from what was dictated by their respective curricula and/or teaching practices. This was most notable at the Peretz and Ramah schools.

Recommendations

Although, on the whole, Winnipeg Jewish Day Schools provided the basic type of Jewish education which their parents expected, there were some differences which could be considered significant. Many of these differences resulted from the misinterpretation by parents or faculty members regarding the school's philosophy. For example, as discussed at length in Chapter 2 of this study (and summarized on Table 2, p. 24), the Talmud Torah, as an Orthodox school was supposed to teach Torah (Bible) with the Rashi (traditional) commentary. However, the parents of that school expected their children to be taught along a Conservative approach, implying that Torah be taught without Rashi. On the other hand, some of the staff members interviewed expressed an Orthodox orientation, while others a

Conservative one (as summarized on Table 19, p. 115). It is, therefore, recommended that both parents and school personnel clarify their perceptions of what each Jewish Day School should provide and effect the appropriate changes.

The school board of each school should review its philosophy with regard to the school's approach to religion, language and attitude towards Israel, with cognizance of the fact that these aspects are ultimately interrelated. The school's curriculum and corresponding practice should be guided accordingly. Administrators and teachers should be advised to follow the guidelines set out.

Parental expectations should be given due consideration by school faculty members, since ignoring them may "produce frustrations and tensions as teachers try to achieve results which parents regard as inconsequential, or neglect to do what parents consider indispensable."⁷⁸ On the other hand, parents should be cautious in their choice of the school to which they send their children.

Particularly at Ramah School, it is recommended that there be a reconsideration of school policy and that the curriculum and practice be altered to accommodate parents' expectations.

At the Peretz School, since the curriculum suits the parents' expectations, while the stated philosophy does so to a lesser extent, it is recommended that the school re-evaluate its policy and approach to complement the curriculum. Further, teachers should be instructed to follow the official curriculum.

⁷⁸Arnold A. Lasker, "What Parents Want from the Jewish Education of their children," Journal of Jewish Communal Service, LII (Summer, 1976).

In order to meet parental expectations, it is suggested that at Talmud Torah the use of Hebrew should be increased in the lower grades.

With respect to religious orientation, it is recommended that (a) the school board of the Talmud Torah be directed by a combination of Orthodox and Conservative policy and curriculum; (b) the Peretz School be guided by Reform policy; (c) the Ramah School board follow a combination of Reform and Conservative policies; and (d) the Herzlia Academy board follow an Orthodox policy.

Finally, it is suggested that the Jewish Day Schools in Winnipeg periodically examine varying approaches to school policy and curriculum and remain attuned to parental attitudes, and consider these factors for possibly updating or revising school policy and practice.

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APPENDIX A

Parent Questionnaire and Letter of Transmittal



THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

FACULTY OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF
EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

WINNIPEG, CANADA

Dear Parents,

We all share the wish and the will to see that our children receive the best kind of Jewish education which will prepare them in the future to be happy, proud Jews and Canadian citizens.

I am researching the relationships between the parents' expectations of the Jewish school and what the Jewish school does in fact provide.

My hope is that the results of this study will help to improve the excellence of the Jewish studies programs in each school and will provide more satisfying experiences for parents and their children.

Please assist me and your children by answering the enclosed questionnaire. As is customary in the world of research, any information received will remain anonymous. I intend to share the results of my research with both educators and parents.

You will receive two identical questionnaires to be completed if differing parental expectations exist in your family as they pertain to the questionnaire.

Please send the completed questionnaires to me with your child as soon as possible.

If you have any questions or suggestions please phone me at 339-5344.

Sincerely,

I. Rossler

QUESTIONNAIRE

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The questionnaire contains four parts:

1. Questions pertaining to general information about the parents.
2. Questions dealing with curriculum expectations.
3. Questions dealing with expectations placed on the priorities that religion, language, and Israel have in the curriculum.
4. Questions pertaining to parents' expectations regarding the lifestyle of their children.

*The majority of the answers should be circled.

PART I

1. Are you male or female?
2. Are you a member of a synagogue: YES NO
3. If yes, name the synagogue _____
4. Do you consider yourself to be:
 Orthodox Conservative Reform Secular
5. Did you attend a Jewish school? YES NO
6. If yes, name the school: _____
Give its location: _____
7. If yes, what grade did you complete:
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

PART II

How important is it to you that the school devotes time to teach the following subjects?

- ① extremely ② greatly ③ somewhat
 ⑤ not at all ④ no opinion/does not matter

RELIGION

Torah	1	2	3	4	5
Prophets	1	2	3	4	5
Laws (Dinnim)	1	2	3	4	5
Jewish Holiday Practices	1	2	3	4	5
Jewish Holiday Traditions	1	2	3	4	5
Siddur	1	2	3	4	5
Learning Praying	1	2	3	4	5
Jewish Life	1	2	3	4	5

LANGUAGE: (Hebrew)

Reading	1	2	3	4	5
Writing	1	2	3	4	5
Conversation	1	2	3	4	5
Grammar	1	2	3	4	5
Literature	1	2	3	4	5
Learning Torah in Hebrew	1	2	3	4	5

LANGUAGE: (Yiddish)

Reading	1	2	3	4	5
Writing	1	2	3	4	5
Conversation	1	2	3	4	5
Grammar	1	2	3	4	5
Literature	1	2	3	4	5
Learning Torah in Yiddish	1	2	3	4	5

ISRAEL:

Geography	1	2	3	4	5
History of Israel	1	2	3	4	5
Current Events	1	2	3	4	5
Culture	1	2	3	4	5

RELIGION:

*Circle the letter that best applies

1. How do you expect Torah to be taught?
 - A. Using the original book with traditional commentaries such as Rashi and others.
 - B. Using the original book with modern and traditional commentaries.
 - C. Using the original book as a text without commentaries.
 - D. Using a concise version of the Torah.
 - E. Using a concise version of the Torah with modern language.

2. When Dinnim (Jewish laws) are taught, do you expect the teacher:
 - A. To teach all the Dinnim including Sabbath observances and Kashrut (dietary laws).
 - B. To teach most of the Dinnim.
 - C. To teach the Jewish laws only that are concerned with customs such as lighting Sabbath candles, building a Succah, blowing the Shofar, observing the Seder.
 - D. Not teach Dinnim at all.

3. Do you expect the teacher to encourage your child to practice the Dinnim at home?
at home?
 - A. Yes.
 - B. No.
 - C. Partially.

4. What do you expect from your child's teacher in terms of his or her personal practice of Jewish laws?
 - A. The teacher should practice an orthodox life-style.
 - B. The teacher should practice a conservative life-style.
 - C. The teacher should practice a reform life-style.
 - D. The teacher's religious life-style is not my concern.

LANGUAGE:

1. Underline the percentage that applies to your evaluation of how much Hebrew and English the teacher should use:

<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>English</u>
0%	100%
10%	90%
20%	80%
30%	70%
40%	60%
50%	50%
60%	40%
70%	30%
80%	20%
90%	10%
100%	0%

2. Underline the percentage that applies to your evaluation of how much Yiddish and English the teacher should use:

<u>Yiddish</u>	<u>English</u>
0%	100%
10%	90%
20%	80%
30%	70%
40%	60%
50%	50%
60%	40%
70%	30%
80%	20%
90%	10%
100%	0%

3. If you want a combination of Hebrew and Yiddish (in how much is taught), underline the percentage that best applies to your evaluation of how much Yiddish and Hebrew the teacher should use:

<u>Hebrew</u>	<u>Yiddish</u>
90%	10%
80%	20%
70%	30%
60%	40%
50%	50%
40%	60%
30%	70%
20%	80%
10%	90%

ISRAEL:

*Circle the letter that best applies

1. Do you want the Hebrew teacher to encourage your child to go to Israel?
 - A. Yes, very much
 - B. Not very much
 - C. Not at all

2. What kind of Hebrew teacher do you most prefer?
 - A. Israeli Shaliach (a teacher that has come from Israel for 2-4 years).
 - B. Israeli teacher ~~Yoriel~~ (a teacher who emigrated from Israel and has become a Canadian citizen).
 - C. A non-Israeli teacher.

3. How many special Israeli activities do you expect to be celebrated or recognized, such as: Independence Day, donations for J.N.F., guest speaker from Israel.
 - A. Two or more times per week.
 - B. Once per week.
 - C. Once per month.
 - D. Less than once per month.

4. Do you expect the teacher to discuss current events in Israel such as: peace treaties, bombs in Jerusalem, winning an International Song Festival.
 - A. Yes, every event.
 - B. Only some events.
 - C. Only major events.
 - D. None at all.

PART IV

*Circle your choice:

- A. extremely
- B. greatly
- C. somewhat
- D. not at all
- E. no opinion/does not matter

How important is it to you that, when your children grow up they:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Know how to take part in Jewish religious practice..... | A | B | C | D | E |
| 2. | Observe Jewish religious practices..... | A | B | C | D | E |
| 3. | Have faith in G-d..... | A | B | C | D | E |
| 4. | Live in accordance with Jewish ethical standards..... | A | B | C | D | E |
| 5. | Observe the Sabbath..... | A | B | C | D | E |
| 6. | Keep <u>Kashruth</u> (Jewish dietary laws) | A | B | C | D | E |
| 7. | Speak Hebrew..... | A | B | C | D | E |
| 8. | Speak Yiddish..... | A | B | C | D | E |
| 9. | Live in Israel..... | A | B | C | D | E |
| 10. | Donate money to Israel..... | A | B | C | D | E |

PART V

Other expectations not included in the preceding sections: _____

APPENDIX B
School Staff Interview Schedule

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Define your school, in general terms.
2. What kind of religion does your school teach, i.e., Orthodox, Conservative, Reform or is it Secular in orientation?
3. What is the main language used in the Hebrew Department?
4. What is the Jewish subject that receives more attention per cycle than any other?
5. To be answered by principals and co-ordinators only:
What are your instructions to a new teach when he or she is assigned to teach Torah? Navi? Jewish literature? Jewish philosophy? Dinim? the subject of holidays? of special events in Israel (such as the peace treaty, the winning of the European Eurovision context, bomb explosions in Jerusalem, etc.)?

To be answered by teachers only:

What is your emphasis when teaching Torah? Navi? Jewish literature? Dinim? Jewish holidays? special events in Israel?

6. To be answered by teachers only:
When teaching Torah, what commentaries do you use?

To be answered by principals and co-ordinators only:
For teaching Torah, what commentaries do you recommend?

7. To be answered by teachers only:
What are the books you use to help you prepare for Dinim lessons?

To be answered by principals and co-ordinators only:
What are the books you recommend that the teacher use for Dinim lessons?

8. To be answered by teachers only: 139
Do you encourage your students to practise the Dinim at home that are taught in your class?

To be answered by Principals and co-ordinators only:
Do you instruct the teacher to encourage his students to practise at home, those Dinim that he or she teaches in the classroom?

9. To be answered by teachers only:
What is the main language you use in your teaching?

To be answered by Principals and co-ordinators only:
What is the language you expect the teacher to use in the classroom?

10. To be answered by teachers only:
If the language of instruction is other than English, for what percentage of the language actually used in the classroom do you strive?

For the Principals and co-ordinators only:
What percentage of the priority language should be used in the classroom in relation to the use of English?

11. To be answered by teachers only:
Which Jewish author's writings do you prefer to teach?

To be answered by Principals and co-ordinators only:
Which Jewish writers do you recommend be taught?

12. To be answered by Principals and co-ordinators only:
What category of teacher do you prefer for your school: Israeli Shaliach, Israeli Yored, or a local teacher?

13. To be answered by teachers only:
Do you teach or discuss Israeli current events in your classroom? If so, give examples.

To be answered by Principals and co-ordinators only:
Do you recommend that Israeli current events be taught and/or discussed in the classroom? If so, give examples.

14. Do you consider yourself to be Orthodox, Conservative or Reform?
15. Do you consider yourself to be a religious Zionist, a Secular Zionist, or a non-Zionist?

APPENDIX C

Parents' Responses Regarding Importance of Time Devoted
to Teaching Various Subjects

Distribution of Respondent^s to Questionnaire
Part II, Religion

Item	School	N	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
			Extremely		Greatly		Somewhat		no		not at all	
									opinion			
1	Talmud Torah	48	14	29.16	18	37.5	14	29.16	2	4.16	0	0
	Peretz	34	0	0	16	47.05	16	47.05	0	0	2	5.88
	Ramah	52	8	15.38	24	46.15	19	36.53	0	0	1	1.92
	Herzlia	5	2	40.	1	20.	2	40.	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	139	24	17.26	59	24.44	51	36.70	2	1.43	3	2.15
2	Talmud Torah		9	18.75	18	37.5	17	35.41	4	8.33	0	0
	Peretz		0	0	10	29.41	20	58.82	2	5.88	2	5.88
	Ramah		6	11.53	17	32.69	24	46.15	4	7.69	1	1.92
	Herzlia		2	40.	1	20.	2	40.	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		17	12.23	46	33.09	63	45.32	10	7.19	3	2.15
3	Talmud Torah		8	16.66	21	43.75	16	33.33	3	6.25	0	0
	Peretz		5	14.70	11	32.35	15	44.11	0	0	3	8.82
	Ramah		9	17.30	15	28.84	23	44.23	5	9.61	0	0
	Herzlia		1	20.	1	20.	3	60.	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		23	16.54	48	34.53	57	41.	8	5.75	3	2.15
4	Talmud Torah		25	52.08	15	31.25	6	12.5	2	4.16	0	0
	Peretz		15	44.11	7	20.58	12	35.29	0	0	0	0
	Ramah		28	53.84	17	32.69	7	13.46	0	0	0	0
	Herzlia		4	80.	1	20.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		72	51.79	40	28.77	25	17.98	2	1.43	0	0

Item	School	N	F Extremely	%	F Greatly	%	F Somewhat	%	F No opinion	%	F not at all	%
5	Talmud											
	Torah	48	26	54.16	17	35.44	6	12.5	0	0	0	0
	Peretz	34	16	47.06	9	26.47	9	26.47	0	0	0	0
	Ramah	52	30	57.69	18	34.61	4	7.70	0	0	0	0
	Herzlia	5	3	60.	2	40.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	134	74	53.23	46	33.09	19	13.66	0	0	0	0
6	Talmud											
	Torah		14	29.16	20	41.66	13	27.08	1	2.08	0	0
	Peretz		2	5.88	12	35.29	17	50.	1	2.44	2	5.88
	Ramah		13	25.	19	36.53	17	32.69	3	5.76	0	0
	Herzlia		2	40.	1	20.	2	40.	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		31	22.30	52	37.41	49	35.25	5	3.59	2	1.43
7	Talmud											
	Torah		14	24.16	18	37.5	15	31.25	1	2.08	0	0
	Peretz		3	8.82	7	20.58	18	52.94	3	8.82	3	8.82
	Ramah		12	30.07	22	42.30	15	28.84	3	5.76	0	0
	Herzlia		1	20.	2	40.	2	40.	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		30	21.58	49	35.25	50	36.	7	5.03	3	2.15
8	Talmud											
	Torah		25	52.08	16	33.33	4	8.33	3	6.25	0	0
	Peretz		21	61.76	9	26.47	4	11.76	0	0	0	0
	Ramah		25	48.07	23	44.23	2	3.84	2	3.84	0	0
	Herzlia		2	40.	2	40.	1	20.	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		73	52.51	50	36.	11	7.91	5	3.59	0	0

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part II, Language/Hebrew

Item	School	N	F Extremely	%	F Greatly	%	F Somewhat	%	F no opinion	%	F not at all	%
1	Talmud											
	Torah	48	28	58.33	17	35.41	3	6.25	0	0	0	0
	Peretz	34	12	35.29	15	44.11	5	14.70	1	2.94	1	2.94
	Ramah	52	21	40.38	25	48.07	15	9.61	1	1.92	0	0
	Herzlia	5	4	80.	1	20.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	139	65	46.76	58	41.72	13	9.35	2	1.43	1	.71
2	Talmud											
	Torah		36	54.16	15	31.25	7	14.38	0	0	0	0
	Peretz		10	29.41	17	50.	6	17.64	0	0	1	2.94
	Ramah		19	36.53	21	40.38	11	21.15	1	1.92	0	0
	Herzlia		4	80.	1	20.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		59	42.44	54	38.84	24	17.26	1	.71	1	.71
3	Talmud											
	Torah		28	58.33	17	35.41	3	6.25	0	0	0	0
	Peretz		10	29.41	15	44.11	8	23.52	0	0	1	2.94
	Ramah		30	57.69	18	34.61	3	5.76	1	1.92	0	0
	Herzlia		4	80.	1	20.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		72	51.79	51	36.69	14	10.07	1	.71	1	.71
4	Talmud											
	Torah		17	35.41	17	35.41	12	25.	2	4.16	0	0
	Peretz		8	23.52	19	55.88	5	14.70	1	2.94	1	2.94
	Ramah		18	34.61	18	34.61	13	25.	2	3.84	1	1.92
	Herzlia		2	40.	2	40.	1	20.	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		45	32.37	56	48.28	31	22.30	5	3.59	2	1.43

Item	School	N	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
			Extremely		Greatly		Somewhat		no opinion		not at all	
5	Talmud											
	Torah	48	11	22.91	17	35.41	17	35.41	3	6.25	0	0
	Peretz	34	8	23.52	8	23.52	16	47.05	0	0	2	5.88
	Ramah	52	11	21.15	15	28.84	16	30.76	8	15.38	2	3.84
	Herzlia	5	0	0	3	60.	2	40.	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	139	30	21.58	43	30.93	51	36.69	11	7.91	4	2.87
6	Talmud											
	Torah		13	27.08	14	29.16	15	31.25	5	10.41	1	2.08
	Peretz		7	20.58	4	11.76	16	47.05	3	8.82	4	11.76
	Ramah		6	11.53	18	34.61	17	32.69	9	17.30	2	3.84
	Herzlia		1	20.	2	40.	2	40.	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		27	10.42	38	27.33	50	35.97	17	12.23	7	5.03

Distribution of Respondents^s to Questionnaire
Part II, Language/Yiddish

Item	School	N	F Extremely	%	F Greatly	%	F Somewhat	%	F No opinion	%	F not at all	%
1	Talmud											
	Torah	48	3	6.25	9	18.75	27	56.25	5	10.41	4	8.33
	Peretz	34	15	44.11	13	38.23	6	17.64	0	0	0	0
	Ramah	52	4	7.69	7	13.46	27	51.92	8	15.38	6	11.53
	Herzlia	5	0	0	0	0	3	60.	1	20.	1	20.
	TOTAL	139	22	15.82	39	28.05	63	45.32	14	10.07	11	7.91
2	Talmud											
	Torah		3	6.25	6	12.5	28	58.33	7	14.58	4	8.33
	Peretz		13	28.23	15	44.11	6	17.64	0	0	0	0
	Ramah		4	7.69	6	11.53	27	51.52	9	17.30	6	11.53
	Herzlia		0	0	0	0	3	60.	1	20.	1	20.
	TOTAL		20	14.38	27	19.42	64	46.04	17	12.23	11	7.91
3	Talmud											
	Torah		10	20.83	9	18.75	23	47.91	3	6.25	3	6.25
	Peretz		15	44.11	12	35.29	7	20.58	0	0	0	0
	Ramah		6	11.53	16	30.76	22	42.30	5	3.61	3	5.76
	Herzlia		0	0	0	0	3	60.	1	20.	1	20.00
	TOTAL		31	22.30	37	26.61	55	39.59	9	6.47	7	5.03
4	Talmud											
	Torah		4	8.33	4	8.33	27	56.25	7	14.58	6	12.5
	Peretz		12	35.24	15	44.11	6	17.64	1	2.94	0	0
	Ramah		5	9.61	6	11.53	23	44.23	9	17.30	9	17.30
	Herzlia		0	0	1	20.	2	40.	1	20.	1	20.
	TOTAL		21	15.10	26	18.70	58	41.72	18	12.94	16	11.51

School	N	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
		Extremely		Greatly		Somewhat		No opinion		Not at all	
Talmud											
Torah	48	3	6.25	8	16.66	26	54.16	5	10.41	6	12.5
Peretz	34	12	35.21	10	29.41	9	26.47	2	5.88	1	2.94
Ramah	52	4	7.69	7	13.46	23	44.23	11	21.15	7	13.46
Herzlia	5	1	20.	1	20.	1	20.	1	20.	1	20.
TOTAL	139	20	14.38	26	18.70	59	42.44	19	13.66	16	11.51

Talmud											
Torah		1	20.80	1	2.08	13	27.08	18	37.5	15	31.25
Peretz		6	17.64	4	11.76	13	28.23	5	14.70	6	17.64
Ramah		3	5.76	1	1.92	12	23.07	17	32.69	19	36.53
Herzlia		0	0	0	0	1	20.	1	20.	3	60.
TOTAL		10	7.19	6	4.31	39	28.05	41	29.49	43	30.93

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part II, Israel

em	School	N	F Extremely	%	F Greatly	%	F Somewhat	%	F No opinion	%	F Not at all	%
1	Talmud											
	Torah	48	13	27.08	21	43.75	9	18.75	3	6.25	2	4.16
	Peretz	34	6	17.64	17	50.	10	29.41	1	2.94	0	0
	Ramah	52	18	34.61	23	44.23	10	19.23	1	1.92	0	0
	Herzlia	5	2	40.	3	60.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL	139	39	28.05	64	46.04	29	20.86	5	3.59	2	1.43
2	Talmud											
	Torah		22	45.83	21	43.75	4	8.33	1	2.08	0	0
	Peretz		13	38.23	14	41.17	7	20.58	0	0	0	0
	Ramah		25	48.07	20	38.46	6	11.53	1	1.92	0	0
	Herzlia		4	80.	1	20.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		64	46.04	56	40.28	17	12.23	2	1.43	0	0
3	Talmud											
	Torah		19	39.58	23	47.91	3	6.25	3	6.25	0	0
	Peretz		14	41.17	14	41.17	6	17.64	0	0	0	0
	Ramah		28	53.84	17	32.69	6	11.53	1	1.92	0	0
	Herzlia		3	60.	2	40.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		64	46.04	56	40.28	15	10.79	4	2.87	0	0
4	Talmud											
	Torah		14	29.16	24	50.	9	18.75	1	2.08	0	0
	Peretz		11	32.35	16	47.05	6	17.64	1	2.94	0	0
	Ramah		22	42.30	21	40.38	8	15.38	1	1.92	0	0
	Herzlia		2	40.	2	40.	1	20.	0	0	0	0
	TOTAL		49	35.25	63	45.32	24	17.26	3	2.15	0	0

APPENDIX D

Distribution of Parents' Responses Regarding
Religious Teaching Methodology

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part III a

150

Item	School	a			b		c		d ¹		e		no answer	
		N	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
	Talmud													
	Torah	48	5	10.4	31	64.58	2	4.16	1	2.08	8	16.6	1	2.08
	Peretz	34	1	23.4	13	38.2	2	5.88	2	5.88	15	44.1	1	2.34
1	Ramah	52	5	9.61	36	69.2	0	0	2	3.84	8	15.38	1	1.92
	Herzlia	5	1	20.	3	60.	0	0	0	0	1	20.	0	0
	All													
	Schools	139	12	8.63	83	59.7	4	2.87	5	3.59	32	2.30	3	2.15
	Talmud													
	Torah	48	21	45.8	19	39.5	7	14.5	0	0	0	0	1	2.08
	Peretz	34	9	26.4	9	26.4	15	44.1	1	2.34	0	0	0	0
2	Ramah	52	22	42.3	14	26.9	16	30.7	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Herzlia	5	3	60.	0	0	2	40.	0	0	0	0	0	0
	All													
	Schools	139	55	39.5	42	30.2	40	28.7	1	.71	0	0	1	.71
	Talmud													
	Torah	48	19	39.5	9	18.7	19	39.5	0	0	0	0	1	2.08
	Peretz	34	4	11.76	16	47.	14	41.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Ramah	52	15	28.8	18	34.6	19	36.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Herzlia	5	3	60.	1	20.	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20.
	All													
	Schools	139	41	23.4	44	34.6	52	37.4	0	0	0	0	2	1.43
	Talmud													
	Torah	48	4	8.33	3	6.25	2	4.16	39	81.25	0	0	0	0
	Peretz	34	1	2.94	2	5.88	0	0	31	91.17	0	0	0	0
4	Ramah	52	1	1.92	13	24.5	1	1.92	37	71.1	0	0	0	0
	Herzlia	5	3	60.	1	20.	0	0	1	20.	0	0	0	0
	All													
	Schools	139	9	6.47	19	13.6	3	2.15	107	76.9	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX E

Distribution of Parents' Responses Regarding
Proportion of Language Usage

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS TO QUESTIONNAIRE
PART III b IN ALL SCHOOLS

N = 139

Item	0%		10%		20%		30%		40%		50%		60%		70%		80%		90%		100%		no answer	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	1	.71	2	1.44	11	7.91	12	8.63	35	25.2	7	5.04	15	10.6	14	10.1	0	0	13	9.35	24	17.3	5	3.6
2	7	5.04	22	15.8	16	11.5	9	6.47	26	18.7	2	1.44	7	5.04	6	4.32	0	0	6	4.32	11	7.91	27	19.4

Item	10%		20%		30%		40%		50%		60%		70%		80%		90%		no answer			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
3	0	0	3	2.16	2	1.44	5	3.6	9	6.47	16	11.5	9	6.47	17	12.2	28	20.1	50	36.		

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part III b in Talmud Torah

Item	0%		10%		20%		30%		40%		50%		60%		70%		80%		90%		100% no answer			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1	0	0	2	4.17	0	0	3	6.25	16	33.3	1	2.08	11	22.9	7	14.6	0	0	4	8.32	2	4.17	2	4.17
2	1	2.08	13	27.1	4	8.33	6	12.5	13	27.1	0	0	0	0	2	4.17	0	0	0	0	1	2.08	8	16.7
	10%		20%		30%		40%		50%		60%		70%		80%		90%		no answer					
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%				
3.	0	0	1	2.08	0	0	0	0	4	8.33	3	6.25	1	2.08	9	18.8	12	25.18	37.5					

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part III b in Peretz School

Item	0%		10%		20%		30%		40%		50%		60%		70%		80%		90%		100% no answer			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1	1	2.94	0	0	5	14.7	6	17.6	9	26.5	4	11.8	2	5.88	1	2.94	0	0	1	2.94	3	8.82	2	5.88
2	1	2.94	2	5.88	8	23.5	2	5.88	6	17.6	1	2.94	5	14.7	1	2.94	0	0	3	8.82	3	8.82	2	5.88
	10%		20%		30%		40%		50%		60%		70%		80%		90%		No Answer					
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%				
3	0	0	1	2.90	2	5.88	3	8.82	5	14.7	11	32.4	6	17.6	3	8.82	2	5.88	1	2.94				

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part III b in Ramah School

Item	0%		10%		20%		30%		40%		50%		60%		70%		80%		90%		100% no answer			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1	0	0	0	0	5	9.62	2	3.85	9	17.3	2	3.85	2	3.85	6	11.5	0	0	8	15.4	17	32.7	1	1.92
2	5	9.62	5	9.62	4	7.69	1	1.92	7	13.5	1	1.92	2	3.85	3	5.77	0	0	3	5.77	7	13.5	14	26.9
	10%		20%		30%		40%		50%		60%		70%		80%		90%		No Answer					
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%				
3	0	0	1	1.92	0	0	2	3.85	0	0	2	3.85	2	3.85	5	9.62	12	23.1	28	53.8				

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part III b at Herzlia Academy

Item	0%		10%		20%		30%		40%		50%		60%		70%		80%		90%		100% no answer			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%		
1	0	0	0	0	1	20	1	20	1	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	40	0	0
2	0	0	2	40	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	60
	10%		20%		30%		40%		50%		60%		70%		80%		90%		No Answer					
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%				
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	40	0	0	3	60		

APPENDIX F

Distribution of Parents' Responses Regarding
their Children's Future Religious Practices

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part IV in all Schools

158

N = 139

Item	a		b		c		d		e		no answer	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	56	4.03	55	39.6	26	18.7	1	0.71	0	0	1	0.71
2	25	18	46	33.1	58	41.7	5	3.6	4	2.88	1	0.71
3	62	44.6	36	25.9	24	17.3	9	6.47	7	5.04	1	0.71
4	49	35.3	56	40.3	24	17.3	2	1.44	7	5.04	1	0.71
5	19	13.7	30	21.6	59	42.4	13	9.35	17	12.2	1	0.71
6	16	11.5	24	17.3	40	28.8	31	22.3	27	19.4	1	0.71
7	28	20.1	64	46	38	27.3	3	2.16	5	3.6	1	0.71
8	9	6.47	31	22.3	68	48.9	14	10.1	16	11.5	1	0.71
9	7	5.04	11	7.91	27	19.4	40	28.8	53	38.1	1	0.71
10	34	24.5	32	23	47	33.8	9	6.47	16	11.5	1	0.71

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part IV in Talmud Torah

N = 48

Item	a		b		c		d		e		no answer	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	20	41.7	19	39.6	9	18.8	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	10	20.8	16	33.3	20	41.7	0	0	2	4.17	0	0
3	23	47.9	13	27.1	11	22.9	1	2.08	0	0	0	0
4	13	27.1	19	39.6	13	27.1	0	0	3	6.25	0	0
5	7	14.7	13	27.1	18	37.5	3	6.25	7	14.6	0	0
6	8	16.7	7	14.6	18	37.5	6	12.5	9	18.8	0	0
7	9	18.8	25	52.1	12	25	1	2.08	1	2.08	0	0
8	2	4.17	8	16.7	27	56.3	3	6.25	8	16.7	0	0
9	3	6.25	8	16.7	14	29.2	11	22.9	12	25	0	0
10	12	25	12	25	16	33.3	2	4.17	6	12.5	0	0

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part IV at Peretz School

N = 34

Item	a		b		c		d		e		no answer	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	11	32.4	13	38.2	9	26.5	1	2.94	0	0	0	0
2	3	8.82	15	44.1	12	35.3	3	8.82	1	2.94	0	0
3	11	32.4	9	26.5	7	20.6	4	11.8	3	8.82	0	0
4	11	32.4	15	44.1	6	17.6	0	0	2	5.88	0	0
5	3	8.82	7	20.6	15	44.1	5	14.7	4	11.8	0	0
6	1	2.94	5	14.7	7	20.6	11	32.4	10	29.4	0	0
7	1	2.94	18	52.9	12	35.3	1	2.94	2	5.88	0	0
8	5	14.7	13	38.2	14	41.2	2	5.88	0	0	0	0
9	0	0	1	2.94	5	14.7	10	29.4	18	52.9	0	0
10	3	8.82	9	26.5	12	35.3	3	8.82	7	20.6	0	0

Distribution of Respondents to Questionnaire
Part IV at Ramah School

N = 38

Item	a		b		c		d		e		no answer	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	22	42.3	21	40.4	8	15.4	0	0	0	0	1	1.92
2	10	19.2	14	26.9	25	48.1	2	3.85	0	0	1	1.92
3	24	46.2	13	25	6	11.5	4	7.69	4	7.69	1	1.92
4	22	42.3	20	38.5	5	9.62	2	3.85	2	3.85	1	1.92
5	8	15.4	10	19.2	22	42.3	5	9.62	6	11.5	1	1.92
6	5	9.62	11	21.2	13	25	14	26.9	8	15.4	1	1.92
7	15	28.8	20	38.5	13	25	1	1.92	2	3.85	1	1.92
8	2	3.85	10	19.2	24	46.2	9	17.3	6	11.5	1	1.92
9	2	3.85	1	1.92	8	15.4	18	34.6	22	42.3	1	1.92
10	15	28.8	10	19.2	19	36.5	4	7.69	3	5.77	1	1.92

